

**POWER, RESISTANCE AND SPANISH RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL**

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between exercises of disciplinary power and acts of resistance as they relate to the negotiation of identities at Spanish Residential School between the years of 1878 and 1930. The school itself, originally Wikwemikong Industrial School, was administered by the Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary and relocated to Spanish, Ontario in 1913. Various archival and printed sources have been used to reveal methods of disciplinary power that administrators used to reshape the Aboriginal students. However, despite their incessant efforts, the administrators of Spanish Residential School did not succeed in completely reforming their pupils. The documentary record, then, also suggests that students at Spanish Residential School, although confined in a very oppressive institution, creatively used opportunities to alter their circumstances.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

*“The government had the force of law behind it; the church had God.”*

*~ Jaine, Residential Schools: The Stolen Years (1995), viii ~*

Spanish Residential School was originally known as Wikwemikong Industrial School and was located in the village of Wikwemikong, on Smith Bay, on the unceded lands of Manitoulin Island (see Figure 1.1). The Society of Jesus and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary, both representatives of the Catholic Church, administered the Wikwemikong school/mission. The Society of Jesus, otherwise known as the Jesuits, or Blackrobes, arrived at Wikwemikong in 1844 and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary followed in 1862.<sup>1</sup> Both of these groups dedicated themselves to education and missionary work within the community through the provision of schooling and religious services. With approval from Monsignor Jamot (Bishop of Peterborough) and financial support from Ottawa, Wikwemikong officially became a government-funded Industrial School in September of 1878. Day students, however, continued to be accommodated and attended with the younger students at the industrial school. A fire in 1911 completely destroyed the girls' school, acting as a catalyst for the relocation of the Wikwemikong institution to Spanish. The schools were finally moved in August of 1913 and drew students from an even wider area.

Spanish Residential School was located on the northern shore of Lake Huron near the mouth of the Spanish River, approximately 130 km west of Sudbury and 200 km east of Sault Ste. Marie (see Figure 1.1).<sup>2</sup> The institution consisted of two separate buildings, one for the boys and one for the girls. The Jesuits administered the boys' school, St. Peter Claver's Residential School (later renamed for St. Charles Garnier), while the Daughters

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<sup>1</sup> David Shanahan, *'More than mere talent': Native Residential Schools and the Jesuits, 1844-1959*, Manuscript submitted for publication, 2004, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Basil Johnston, *Indian School Days* (Toronto, 1988), 1.

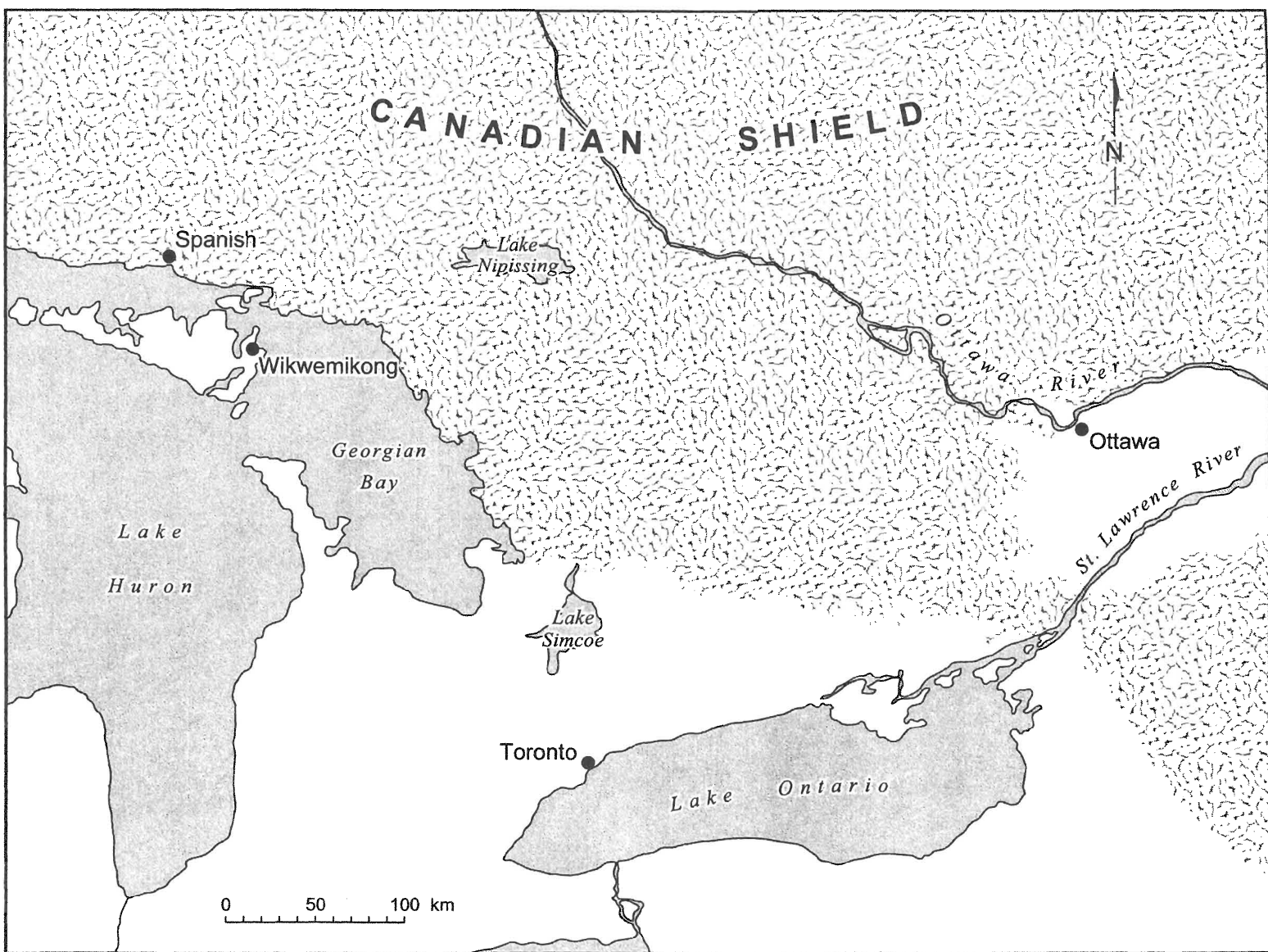


Figure 1.1: Location of Spanish and Wikwemikong

of the Heart of Mary ran the girls' institution, St. Joseph's Residential School. For government administrative purposes, the two schools were considered to be one institution - Spanish Residential School (hereafter, Spanish).<sup>3</sup> The schools at Spanish continued operating until Garnier closed in 1958 followed by St. Joseph's in 1962.<sup>4</sup>

Beginning before Confederation and through the Great War, the roaring twenties, the Great Depression and well into the nineteen-fifties and sixties staff at Spanish Residential School attempted to isolate, train, educate and mould young Aboriginal peoples from Ontario and Quebec. Generations of students ate in the refectories, prayed in the chapels, slept in the dormitories, attended to crops and to trades, engaged in recreational activities, and lived by the syncopation of routines reinforced by bells. Simultaneously, students created their own agendas, sometimes overtly, and sometimes privately, to ensure their individuality was not lost to the conformity expected between the walls of Spanish.

By examining daily routines and other general aspects of Spanish between 1878 and 1930, this thesis explores how various exercises of power permeated the institution, as the Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary continually strove to shape students' minds and actions. Although power relations were obviously asymmetrical, the ability to resist provided students with some control over their daily lives and identities. Acts of resistance are much more difficult to detect than exercises of disciplinary power. This is most easily recognised in the length of the chapters devoted to each of them. This is not, however, an indication that acts of resistance were scarce, just that they were not necessarily recognized or documented by the Jesuits and, therefore, not present within many of the sources used for this thesis. Acts of resistance demonstrate that, despite the relentless efforts of government

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<sup>3</sup> Shanahan (2004), 350.

<sup>4</sup> Shanahan (2004), 351 & 636.

and church personnel, students were not powerless, but played an active role in shaping their experience of Spanish, even though the roles they played were not always visible to their audience.

This thesis adopts an interdisciplinary approach, drawing especially from the disciplines of history and historical geography. Materials used to acquire information about Spanish include archival sources (consisting of correspondence between church and government officials), the published *Annual Reports for the Department of Indian Affairs*, and various pieces of information originating from the Jesuit Archives, which were obtained through Dr. David Shanahan. Each of these sources represent subjective beliefs, values, intentions, prejudices and knowledges. The resulting thesis is not meant to be a comprehensive account of circumstances at Spanish, but is merely a stepping-stone toward a better understanding of Spanish, and the struggles for identities that characterized the students' lives at the school.

The existing literature on residential schools is vast, ranging from personal accounts to academic studies. Each contributes a unique understanding of the system. Contributions that were particularly useful for this thesis are those that explore power relations within residential school settings. Despite the growing literature pertaining to residential schools within Canada, few works concentrate specifically on Spanish Residential School. Basil Johnston's account of his, and his companions', years at Spanish provides insight into Spanish from a student perspective. This book, along with a manuscript documenting the history of Spanish Residential School by Dr. David Shanahan, proved to be invaluable sources. However, more research is needed to understand the unique relationships between exercises of power and acts of resistance at individual residential schools that contributed to

students' identity formation. This thesis contributes by exploring those relationships at Spanish Residential School between the years of 1878 and 1930.

### Historical Context

The earliest boarding school for Aboriginal children in Canada dates back to 1620 New France.<sup>5</sup> Since that time innumerable alterations to the education of Aboriginal children contributed to the eventual establishment of residential schools. To place Spanish Residential School within the broader Canadian scene, and to contextualize the social relationships that existed at Spanish, it is necessary to give a brief historical background of first, residential schooling and, second, the Jesuits. In the first section I hope to explain some of the policies surrounding residential schools, the prominent characteristics of the institutions, and various Aboriginal responses to the compulsory education. The second section will consist of a brief overview of the Jesuit mission in Canada.

### *Residential Schooling*

Throughout the nineteenth century a new relationship between the Aboriginal population and the Europeans was developing.<sup>6</sup> At this time, Aboriginal peoples were no longer considered to be an asset politically or economically to European powers and, simultaneously, an influx of immigrants heightened the demand for land.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, colonial officials encouraged Aboriginal peoples to adopt a 'civilized' lifestyle and self-sufficiency through settlement, agriculture and religion. From the establishment of the first boarding school in 1620 until the late nineteenth century, the education of Aboriginal peoples was undertaken by an array of religious orders (including those from the Roman Catholic,

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<sup>5</sup> J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, 1996), 39.

<sup>6</sup> Miller (1996), 62-63.

<sup>7</sup> Miller (1996), 75.

Methodist/United and Presbyterian Churches and the Church of England), with varying degrees of success.<sup>8</sup>

Efforts to civilize the Aboriginal populations preceded the establishment of the official residential school system. For example, efforts had been made by the New England Company in New Brunswick to establish schools for Aboriginal children since 1787.<sup>9</sup> Sussex Vale was the central focus of this effort, at which students were to be converted to “non-Indian ways” and apprenticed out to local farmers to learn trades.<sup>10</sup> However, the result was a system of exploitation that took advantage of, and mistreated, Aboriginal children. Moreover, the project was a “failure” because the Aboriginal children did not become acculturated, but returned to their communities and traditional ways of life.<sup>11</sup> Other initiatives to civilize the Aboriginal population through education followed.<sup>12</sup>

In 1820 the Governor of Upper Canada, Sir Peregrine Maitland, proposed civilizing Aboriginal peoples through the adoption of agriculture as opposed to hunting, and residential schooling for youth, whom he considered to be an impressionable group.<sup>13</sup> At the proposed schools, students would learn religion, basic academics and acceptable social behaviours. The proposal was not pursued until about 1830 when the colonial administration concluded that it was in the best interest of both the Aboriginal peoples, and Britain, if the Aboriginal populations would become part of an increasingly agricultural colony.<sup>14</sup> Reserves were established in the early nineteenth century and the government began to work in concert with missionaries involved in the education of Aboriginal children. The New England Company

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<sup>8</sup> J. S. Milloy, “*A National Crime*”: *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, 1999), 307; Miller (1996), 39.

<sup>9</sup> Miller (1996), 64.

<sup>10</sup> Miller (1996), 65.

<sup>11</sup> Miller (1996), 65.

<sup>12</sup> For examples see Miller (1996), 72.

<sup>13</sup> Milloy (1999), 14-15.

<sup>14</sup> Miller (1996), 74.



had already established the Mohawk Institute at Brantford in 1829 and soon after the Methodists opened schools in Upper Canada.<sup>15</sup> The Anglican Church Missionary Society worked in the Grand River area and during the 1840s the Jesuits established a school at Wikwemikong.<sup>16</sup> Despite these efforts, after spending 2 years evaluating reserve conditions, the Bagot Commission concluded that Aboriginal peoples were not self-sufficient and were only half civilized.<sup>17</sup> The Commission report of 1844 would become the catalyst for an assimilative policy for Aboriginal peoples with education, particularly residential schooling, at the forefront.<sup>18</sup>

In the British North America Act of 1867 Aboriginal peoples were virtually ignored with the exception of designating the federal government constitutionally responsible for status Indians.<sup>19</sup> In 1875 the separate boards that dealt with Aboriginal issues across the Dominion were abolished in favour of a central agency.<sup>20</sup> The Indian Act of 1876 amalgamated and reinforced pre-confederation policies dealing with Aboriginal peoples into a national framework aimed at assimilating the Aboriginal populations. Olive Dickason, commenting in 1992, wrote that, despite numerous revisions, this Act was “still fundamentally in place”.<sup>21</sup>

Central to the goal of assimilation was the education of Aboriginal children. Prime Minister John A. MacDonald appointed Nicholas Flood Davin, a Tory from Regina, to investigate residential schools in the United States. The Davin Report of 1879 was yet

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<sup>15</sup> Miller (1996), 72.

<sup>16</sup> Miller (1996), 76.

<sup>17</sup> Milloy (1999), 12.

<sup>18</sup> Milloy (1999), 12.

<sup>19</sup> Cole Harris, *Making Native Spaces: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 2002), xxvii; Miller (1996), 104.

<sup>20</sup> Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto, 1992), 283.

<sup>21</sup> Dickason (1992), 283.

another thrust toward a more complete system of Aboriginal education as he highly recommended the implementation of industrial schooling after touring select schools in the United States.<sup>22</sup> Milloy emphasizes that while the Davin Report was influential in promoting industrial schools it was by no means, as is often suggested, the beginning of residential schooling in Canada.<sup>23</sup>

At this time, missionaries were already operating four manual labour schools in Ontario including the Wikwemikong, Mount Elgin and Shingwauk schools and the Mohawk Institute. Other boarding schools were in the planning stages.<sup>24</sup> As a means of making the endeavour less expensive the government took advantage of existing educational programs provided by the churches and their benevolent enthusiasm toward Christianizing and civilizing the Aboriginal populations. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries churches still held considerable influence over the Department of Indian Affairs. There were even some instances in which government administration was aware of deplorable conditions within schools but defended the system in order to protect themselves and to keep peace with the churches.<sup>25</sup> However, the churches also looked to the government for moral support, which gave them an air of official authority in their missionary work.<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, the government was troubled by the competition between the churches and the churches often complained about unqualified Indian Agents and poor government grants.<sup>27</sup> The Roman Catholics, in particular, did not associate with the government with ease since they perceived the government as primarily Protestant, and therefore, as biased

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<sup>22</sup> Miller (1996), 101-102.

<sup>23</sup> Milloy (1999), 8.

<sup>24</sup> Milloy (1999), 8.

<sup>25</sup> Milloy (1999), 149.

<sup>26</sup> John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto, 1984), 185.

<sup>27</sup> Grant (1984), 186.

against them.<sup>28</sup> For example, there were more Protestant government agents than Catholic, which may have, according to Catholics, led “to the use of official influence to lure Catholic Indians into Protestant schools”.<sup>29</sup> Despite efforts to keep costs to a minimum through forming a partnership with various Canadian churches, the education of Aboriginal peoples would become the largest expense for the Department of Indian Affairs.<sup>30</sup>

The Department of Indian Affairs desired the Aboriginal peoples to assimilate into mainstream society by becoming self sufficient and Christian.<sup>31</sup> Most Europeans believed that Aboriginal peoples were inferior and needed to be civilized and assimilated (which, in various forms, remained the mindset for a very long time).<sup>32</sup> Racist assumptions were often based on supposed biological characteristics, such as the shape and size of the skull, which placed Aboriginal peoples close to the bottom of a hierarchy with ‘White’ peoples at the top.<sup>33</sup> Measurements of such features were thought to indicate levels of reason, morality, intelligence and self-control, which contributed to validating cultural imperialism through explanations based on nature.<sup>34</sup> This often meant that Aboriginal values and ways of life were viewed negatively because they were different from those of Euro-Canadians. The residential school system, then, was designed not to meet the needs of Aboriginal peoples, but was based on racist assumptions and evangelical objectives.<sup>35</sup>

Boarding schools, industrial schools, and day schools were the three main types of institutions used to ‘educate’ Aboriginal children throughout the latter part of the nineteenth

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<sup>28</sup> Grant (1984), 186.

<sup>29</sup> Grant (1984), 186.

<sup>30</sup> Dickason (1992), 333.

<sup>31</sup> Miller (1996), 184-185.

<sup>32</sup> Dickason (1992), 328.

<sup>33</sup> Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991), 99.

<sup>34</sup> Comaroff and Comaroff (1991), 99-101.

<sup>35</sup> Miller (1996), 410.

century. While some students were able to attend school daily, many lived too far away to attend regularly, making day schools unproductive in the eyes of church and government officials. Parents who sent their children to schools often preferred boarding schools since these institutions were usually found on or near the reserves.<sup>36</sup> Industrial schools, however, were often located off reserves in closer proximity to larger urban centres.<sup>37</sup> The role of Industrial schools (also known as Manual Labour Schools) was primarily to civilize the students by training boys in agriculture and various trades while educating girls in domestic science, including subjects such as cooking and needlework.<sup>38</sup> During the last two decades of the nineteenth century emphasis was placed on industrial schools, but by the turn of the century focus turned to boarding schools and day schools.<sup>39</sup> Milloy accounts for this change by explaining that the industrial schools were extremely expensive to maintain, were providing substandard education, and were having difficulties recruiting students.<sup>40</sup>

In 1923 the term residential school was used to represent both the boarding and the remaining industrial schools as the two operated in much the same way.<sup>41</sup> The conditions within the residential schools (this term, for the remainder of my thesis, includes both boarding and industrial schools) were horrendous. Malnutrition, poor hygiene, the rampant spread of infectious disease, and excessive corporal punishment led to high rates of mortality.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, behind the walls of many institutions students suffered various

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<sup>36</sup> Milloy (1999), 68.

<sup>37</sup> Dickason (1992), 334.

<sup>38</sup> Milloy (1999), 13.

<sup>39</sup> Dickason (1992), 334.

<sup>40</sup> Milloy (1999), 71.

<sup>41</sup> Milloy (1999), 52.

<sup>42</sup> Mary-Ellen Kelm, "'A Scandalous Procession': Residential Schooling and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900-1950", *Native Studies Review*, 11.2 (1996), 51-88.

forms of abuse.<sup>43</sup> Communication and visits with family were permitted only in a very controlled manner. Letters were censored, parental visits were discouraged and limited, and students were taught that their traditional ways of life were uncivilized and pagan.<sup>44</sup>

The distribution of residential schools across Canada varied, as did the conditions in each school. However, the majority of schools suffered from chronic under-funding. The government was responsible for providing necessities such as school supplies and appliances, medicine, and, if government owned, the upkeep of the school buildings.<sup>45</sup> Funds, however, especially during periods of crisis such as World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II, were not readily available. Often, those administering the school were left to make up the difference by means of their own resources.<sup>46</sup> This meant that students spent a great deal of their time attending to chores, agricultural duties, and other tasks required for the schools to continue operating. Thus, students often spent little time acquiring academic knowledge.<sup>47</sup>

The reaction of Aboriginal peoples to the schools varied. While some requested day schools on their reserves for their children, others were ambivalent, hesitant or opposed to this venture.<sup>48</sup> Originally, many people were receptive to day schools. Education, for some, was part of adjusting to the new circumstances in which they found themselves.<sup>49</sup>

Residential schooling, however, was not necessarily what they desired.<sup>50</sup> Aboriginal peoples who favoured schooling had their own agenda. Some viewed education as an opportunity to

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<sup>43</sup> Suzanne Fournier and Ernie Crey, *Stolen From Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities* (Vancouver, 1997); Miller (1996); Milloy (1999).

<sup>44</sup> Isabelle Knockwood, *Out of the Depths: The Experience of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Lockeport, 1992), 34; Miller (1996), 70; Milloy (1999), 37-38.

<sup>45</sup> Milloy (1999), 74.

<sup>46</sup> Milloy (1999), 168-169.

<sup>47</sup> For further information on this subject see Miller (1996) and Milloy (1999).

<sup>48</sup> Miller (1996), 77-79.

<sup>49</sup> Dickason (1992), 333.

<sup>50</sup> Miller (1996), 79.

gain skills that would enable them to work alongside the encroaching Euro-Canadians and to continue to be independent by acquiring skills such as reading and mathematics.<sup>51</sup> Some envisioned a partnership between Aboriginal groups and Euro-Canadians, which incorporated traditional Aboriginal rights and values.<sup>52</sup> A variety of groups even supported the schools financially, although most Aboriginal communities were not interested in assimilation.<sup>53</sup> However, there were always exceptions, such as the Reverend Peter Jones, the son of a provincial surveyor and an Ojibway woman. Following his father's wishes, Jones was thoroughly converted to Methodism in 1823 and strongly advocated residential schooling.<sup>54</sup> He believed that assimilation was God's will, although, somewhat paradoxically, he never sent any of his own children to a residential school.<sup>55</sup>

Soon after the establishment of many residential schools, parents and communities began to complain about the schools and started to limit their children's attendance. The most significant parental complaints were "inadequate food and excessive work". Some commentators attribute a general difficulty in recruiting students to these conditions.<sup>56</sup> Funding situations seemed to worsen continually, and were reflected in the schools' conditions. Parents and communities became more attentive to how the students were being treated within the schools. Very low attendance rates led to the implementation of compulsory education as early as 1894.<sup>57</sup> This was unpopular and unenforceable and, therefore, ineffective. In 1920 it became mandatory for all Aboriginal children between 7 and 15 to attend school and truant officers were appointed to enforce compliance, with

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<sup>51</sup> Milloy (1999), 26-27.

<sup>52</sup> Dickason (1992), 333.

<sup>53</sup> Milloy (1999), 27.

<sup>54</sup> Miller (1996), 79.

<sup>55</sup> Miller (1996), 88.

<sup>56</sup> Miller (1996), 128.

<sup>57</sup> Miller (1996), 169.

threats of fines or imprisonment for refusal to attend.<sup>58</sup> Enfranchisement regulations, which may have revoked 'Indian status', were also strengthened in 1920.<sup>59</sup> This tandem illustrates the government's increasing effort to assimilate Aboriginal peoples.

Aboriginal peoples expressed their discontent in numerous ways. Petitions, threats of violence, and withholding children from school were the most common.<sup>60</sup> Following World War II, Aboriginal protest, along with shifting goals of the federal government, decreasing numbers of religious personnel, and the change in public attitudes towards residential schools, contributed to the beginning of the end of the residential school system.<sup>61</sup> A major thrust toward terminating the residential school system came from a report issued in 1948 by a Special Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate that considered Aboriginal issues. One of the committee's conclusions was that Aboriginal children should no longer be segregated, but should be educated within provincial schools, a decision that was incorporated into the 1951 Indian Act revisions.<sup>62</sup> Closing the era of Residential Schooling was, however, a long, arduous process, spanning four decades. Seventy-two schools were in operation throughout Canada in 1948 and not until 1986 did the last federally funded residential school close.<sup>63</sup>

Schissel and Wotherspoon note that residential schooling had mixed outcomes and consequences.<sup>64</sup> Each school offered different experiences and each student experienced their education in a unique manner. Residential schooling has left many individuals and

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<sup>58</sup> Milloy (1999), 70.

<sup>59</sup> Dickason (1992), 335.

<sup>60</sup> Examples can be found throughout Fournier and Crey (1997); Milloy (1999); Miller (1996), especially 343-374.

<sup>61</sup> Miller (1996) and Milloy (1999) both discuss in depth the arduous process of closing residential schools.

<sup>62</sup> Milloy (1999), 189-190.

<sup>63</sup> Milloy (1999), 190.

<sup>64</sup> Bernard Schissel and Terry Wotherspoon, "The Legacy of Residential Schools", in *The Legacy of School for Aboriginal Peoples* (Don Mills, 2003), 37.

communities with innumerable spiritual, cultural, social and psychological scars. However, some former students used their experiences within the residential school system to become community leaders. Dickason contends that Aboriginal culture was highly resistant and “the vast majority [of students] remained distinctly Indian”.<sup>65</sup>

The ultimate goals of this system were both to Christianize and to assimilate the Aboriginal community (via the children) into the dominant society.<sup>66</sup> The purpose of the schools was to inculcate the necessary skills to create industrious citizens. The students would, educators hoped, leave the institutions with the desire to enlighten their communities with the valued skills and enthusiasm they learned.<sup>67</sup> Milloy describes the schools as “a circle – an all-encompassing environment of resocialization. The curriculum was not simply an academic schedule or practical trades training but comprised the whole life of the child in the school. One culture was to be replaced by another”.<sup>68</sup> To facilitate this process, Aboriginal children were removed (either voluntarily or through manipulation/force) from their homes and brought to the residential schools for the purpose of isolating them from their parents, community, culture, heritage and language. As suggested by scholars such as Chrisjohn, Schissel and Wotherspoon, and Jaine the residential school system constituted cultural genocide, a means of forcing a cultural group to assimilate into the dominant culture.<sup>69</sup> Cardinal, an advocate for the rights of Aboriginal peoples, puts it even more

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<sup>65</sup> Dickason (1992), 335.

<sup>66</sup> Elizabeth Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence* (Vancouver, 1992); Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole Life at two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo, 1997); Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School System* (Vancouver, 1988); Miller (1996); Milloy (1999).

<sup>67</sup> Milloy (1999), 13.

<sup>68</sup> Milloy (1999), 33.

<sup>69</sup> Roland Chrisjohn, *The Circle Game: Rethinking the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada* (Penticton, BC, 1997); Schissel and Wotherspoon; Linda Jaine, ed. *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years* (Saskatchewan 1995).



strongly, stating that not only residential schools, but also much of Canadian policy directed toward Aboriginal peoples has constituted genocide.<sup>70</sup>

### *The Jesuits*

The Catholic Church had been involved with Aboriginal education in Canada since the Récollets, a Roman Catholic religious order, began the first boarding school in 1620 New France.<sup>71</sup> Various Catholic groups contributed to missionary work among Aboriginal peoples, such as the Récollets, the Jesuits and the Oblates.<sup>72</sup> Common to all Catholic missionaries was a tolerance for traditional Aboriginal ways due to the belief that conversion was a gradual process. Nevertheless, missionaries kept complete control over the process of conversion and despite professing dedication to both Christianity and civilization they clearly saw acculturation as secondary to catechism.<sup>73</sup> Exemplifying their zeal for missionary work, and not to be outdone by any other missionaries, the Roman Catholic Church ran the majority of residential schools in Canada.<sup>74</sup>

The efforts of the Jesuits were centred on missionary work and education. The Jesuits thoroughly believed that permanent residence with Aboriginal peoples along with flexibility in their approach was necessary to fully convert peoples to Christianity.<sup>75</sup> They were extremely persistent in their educational endeavours among Aboriginal peoples, despite opposition they may have encountered from other missionaries or the Aboriginal peoples.<sup>76</sup> The Jesuits' most well known work was, perhaps, with the Huron in the seventeenth century. During this same period the Jesuits also established a school in Quebec that would eventually

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<sup>70</sup> Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton, 1969).

<sup>71</sup> Miller (1996), 39.

<sup>72</sup> Grant (1984), 229.

<sup>73</sup> Grant (1984), 228.

<sup>74</sup> Milloy (1999), 307.

<sup>75</sup> Grant (1984), 27 and 32.

<sup>76</sup> Elizabeth Graham, *Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867* (Toronto, 1975), 44-45.

evolve into Laval University.<sup>77</sup> However, after the British Conquest the Jesuits were no longer permitted to accept new members and the last Jesuit in what would become Canada died in 1800. After a period of absence, the Jesuits returned in 1842. Holy Cross Mission at Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island, established 1844, was only one of many missions/schools the Jesuits established.<sup>78</sup> The majority of Jesuits were French, but many worked in English. They quickly immersed themselves, again, in missionary and education work among both European and Aboriginal peoples from St. John's to Vancouver Island, establishing many schools and missions.<sup>79</sup>

The Jesuits' goals were to challenge religious indifference and to counter Protestantism and heathenism.<sup>80</sup> The Jesuits were considered the most intellectual of missionaries, however, might have been too smart for their own good. Often, their plans were so calculated that they did not consider the spontaneity that characterizes human behaviour.<sup>81</sup> Obedient and self-disciplined, the Jesuits were perceived by the government as putting religious objectives ahead of those of the government.<sup>82</sup> The Jesuits remain a presence in Canada today, and many other countries around the world, and continue to devote themselves to both religion and education.

We cannot dissociate ourselves from the past.<sup>83</sup> Perceptions of the past influence how present situations are viewed and addressed and contribute to understandings of ourselves, and others with whom we relate. This influences not only how we think about others and

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<sup>77</sup> Jacques Monet, S.J., *Upper Canada Province – A Brief History (from the Introduction to "Dictionary of Jesuit Biography")* [Online] (May 22, 1991), available: <http://www.jesuits.ca/history/summary.html>.

<sup>78</sup> Monet, S.J. (May 22, 1991), available: <http://www.jesuits.ca/history/summary.html>.

<sup>79</sup> Monet, S.J. (May 22, 1991), available: <http://www.jesuits.ca/history/summary.html>.

<sup>80</sup> Grant (1984), 5.

<sup>81</sup> Grant (1986), 38.

<sup>82</sup> Grant (1984), 127.

<sup>83</sup> Cole Harris (2002), 323.

ourselves, but also how we conduct ourselves.<sup>84</sup> According to Alan Cairns, many Canadians are witnessing an attempt to change patterns of inequality between Aboriginal peoples and other residents of Canada so that all parties can obtain a comfortable co-existence, not just politically, but in “all the ways we relate to each other”.<sup>85</sup>

To understand better the current and future tensions between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians Cole Harris and Cairns, among others, advocate that we need to understand what contributed to these situations in the past.<sup>86</sup> The Aboriginal Healing Foundation published *The Healing Has Begun* in May of 2002, outlining programs and steps that have been taken to help people deal with the effects of residential schooling.<sup>87</sup> The topic remains one of great importance as litigation continues to delve into the residential school era and as people continue to deal with residential school experiences as individuals or as communities. The government, churches and former students (including those from Spanish) are currently attempting to settle over 12,000 claims that have been filed and, of this number, only approximately 1,000 have currently been resolved.<sup>88</sup> Allegations brought forward by former students include breach of trust, physical abuse, cultural loss, and loss of language.<sup>89</sup>

Injustices that have occurred in the past need to be acknowledged and approached with flexibility, recognizing that there will be both advantages and disadvantages for all parties involved.<sup>90</sup> Injustices, such as those experienced as a result of residential schooling, remain the backbone of numerous issues Aboriginal peoples face today, and therefore, cannot

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<sup>84</sup> Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver, 2000), 33 & 39.

<sup>85</sup> Cairns (2000), 43-44.

<sup>86</sup> Cairns (2000); Harris (2002).

<sup>87</sup> The Aboriginal Healing Foundation, *The Healing has Begun* (Ottawa, 2002), 12-20.

<sup>88</sup> *Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada [Online]*, Available: <http://www.irsrrqpi.gc.ca/english/index.html>.

<sup>89</sup> *Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada [Online]*, Available: <http://www.irsrrqpi.gc.ca/english/index.html>.

<sup>90</sup> Harris (2002), 322.

be considered merely part of the past. Acknowledging and broadening our knowledge of the pasts of residential schools such as Spanish contribute to the process of changing patterns of inequalities.

## CHAPTER 2: RELEVANT LITERATURE

This chapter sets out the theoretical and methodological scaffolding for the remainder of the thesis. Three areas of scholarship are especially relevant to this section: existing literature, theory, and methodology. The first concerns literature focused on residential schools in Canada, much of which, although very detailed, pertains to general discussions of the development of residential schools in Canada. This means that there are few resources that focus on the functioning of particular residential schools, in particular, Spanish Residential School. Recourse to theory concerned with power, resistance, and identity may be a profitable way to explore the micropolitics of the day-to-day functioning of Spanish. Such a theoretical perspective provides a means of understanding the assimilative agenda that lay behind the development of the school and students' reaction to it. This led me to a methodology wherein attention to details and gaps, silences and contradictions within documents may provide insight into daily struggles between disciplinary power and student resistances, which contributed to the continual negotiation of student identities at Spanish.

### Literature Review

*"We would be remiss as non-Aboriginal writers if we did not defer to the wisdom and knowledge of Aboriginal writers as the most valid chroniclers of their own oppression"*

*~ Schissel and Wotherspoon, The Legacy of School for Aboriginal Peoples (2003), 38 ~*

A large literature exploring Canadian Residential Schools exists. This comprises an array of newspaper and magazine articles, scholarly and fictional works, and personal accounts. Collectively, this literature allows us to grasp more fully the intricate relationships that existed within residential schools. Of particular importance for this thesis is the literature that explores how exercises of power and acts of resistance were manifested within the confines of the institutions. This chapter, meant to highlight existing literature pertaining

to residential schooling, will begin with a brief introduction to the literature. Next the chapter will explore various authors' discussions of exercises of power, acts of resistance, and struggles over identities.

Both Milloy and Miller have explored the Canadian residential school system across time and space, providing a comprehensive history of the topic based on numerous interviews and archival research.<sup>1</sup> Each of these projects sheds light on the creation, maintenance, and deterioration of the residential school system and how other aspects of Canadian history influenced the process. From these pieces we learn that each Canadian residential school was unique, and although many similarities existed one cannot assume that any of the schools housed the exact same conditions (including relations of power and resistance). Both Milloy and Miller present a very thorough and descriptive history of events that characterized many residential schools. What these authors do not do, and did not intend to do, was to incorporate an analysis of the system of power relations and resistance at a micro level from an overt theoretical perspective. This area will be the focus of this thesis.

Much of the historical work on the residential school period does not tackle the overall system but focuses on specific aspects of residential schools. Satzewich and Mahood study the specific roles of the Indian Agents within the residential school system while others such as Raibmon focus on the role of church personnel, concluding that some were truly dedicated to improving the lives of their Aboriginal students.<sup>2</sup> Many people, from a variety of backgrounds, have also attempted to explain the experiences and conditions within individual residential schools. Schools such as William's Lake Residential School, B.C.,

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<sup>1</sup> J. S. Milloy, *"A National Crime": The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, 1999); J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> V. Satzewich, and L. Mahood. "Indian Agents and the Residential School System in Canada, 1946-1970", *Historical Studies in Education*, 7.1 (1995), 45-69; Paige Raibmon, "'A New Understanding of Things Indian': George Raley's Negotiation of the Residential School Experience", *B.C. Studies*, 110, (1996), 69-96.

Kamloops Indian Residential School, B.C., All Hallows School, B.C., Blue Quills Residential School, Alberta, Mohawk and Mt. Elgin residential schools, Ontario and Shubenacadie, N.S., among others, have received varying degrees of attention.<sup>3</sup> Authors pursued questions such as: how did the schools operate? What were the students' experiences? How did the schools change over time? What were the differences between the educational experiences of White and Aboriginal children? What factors led to the schools' eventual closure? What are the lasting effects of the schools that survivors have endured? These authors also express much concern regarding the various abuses that occurred behind the walls of these institutions.

The most important sources to the study of power relations within residential schools are the first-hand accounts of former residential school students. Documenting residential school experiences has become part of the healing process for many residential school survivors, their families, and communities. This may take a variety of forms, such as art, poetry, fiction or works of non-fiction.<sup>4</sup> Sources such as *Stolen From Our Embrace* and *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years* have given individuals an opportunity not only to document their stories, but also to express the impact of these experiences on their lives and the lives of their families and friends.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence* (Vancouver, 1992); Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School System* (Vancouver, 1988); Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White girls at All hallows School, 1884-1920", in J. Barman, N. Sutherland and J.D. Wilson, eds., *Children Teachers and School in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary, 1995), 337-358; Diane Persson, "The Changing Experiences of Indian Residential Schooling: Blue Quills, 1931-1970", in Y. Herbert Barman and D. McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada* (Vancouver, 1986), 150-168; Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole Life at two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo, 1997); Isabelle Knockwood, *Out of the Depths: The Experience of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Lockeport, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Linda Jaine, ed., *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years* (Saskatchewan, 1995) provides numerous examples.

<sup>5</sup> Suzanne Fournier and Ernie Crey, *Stolen From Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities* (Vancouver, 1997); Jaine (1995).

Exercises of power are interwoven throughout the pages many residential school pieces. Both Miller and Milloy, acknowledge the motives of the government and church and refer to various practices used to assimilate Aboriginal children: the sole use of the English language within the schools, and the familiarization of students with Christian practices, holidays and special events. Isabelle Knockwood bases her book on interviews with former students along with her own recollections of Shubenacadie.<sup>6</sup> The process of writing this book was an essential aspect of her healing process – a means of helping her cope and come to terms with her experiences. Exercises of power permeate her book. She refers to the bells that structured her days, the punishment for speaking the *M'kmac* language, the censoring of mail, the allocation of a number to each student, the prison-like uniforms, the system of surveillance and the focus on ethics and sanitation.

Elizabeth Graham explores circumstances at the Mohawk Institute and the Mount Elgin School by providing a documentary history of these schools with some discussion of their social implications. Graham notes that there was little room for individuality within the jail-like institutions in which all aspects of the children's days were observed and controlled. She suggests that acts such as using the English language removed the students' 'Indian identity' and gave them a 'school identity', and that wearing uniforms, "while removing the identity of individuals so that they would be controlled more effectively, gave them an outward identity as members of the school – another technique designed to engineer the internal acceptance of the rules".<sup>7</sup> Graham discusses the goal of 'total power' to reshape students' identities (which she notes was not completely successful).

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<sup>6</sup> Knockwood (1992).

<sup>7</sup> Graham (1997), 40.



Kelm explores how “capturing minds meant capturing bodies first” through the meticulous control and supervision of space and behaviour.<sup>8</sup> Kelm concludes that the conditions in residential schools did not meet their goals, but rather succeeded in weakening the bodies of Aboriginal students through disease, hunger, overwork and physical abuse. Lomawaima clearly illustrates that exercises of power were attempts to mould Aboriginal girls “according to dictates of Victorian decency and domesticity”.<sup>9</sup> However, Lomawaima also concludes that the American boarding schools, like the residential schools in Canada, did not present the perfect conditions in which to accomplish this feat for reasons such as student resistance.

Throughout the very moving and often poignant works on residential schools are examples of resistance. Former students, families and communities may have used acts of resistance to make life more bearable.<sup>10</sup> While thoughts of the schools often arouse unhappy memories of abuses and a “very rigid, regimented kind of existence” that squashed the spirit, creativity and independence of the children, for many Aboriginal peoples these recollections also disclose glimpses of satisfaction as some remember acts of resistance.<sup>11</sup> For example, students bypassed surveillance by using “the Indian sign language so they could communicate among themselves”.<sup>12</sup> Personal accounts, especially, are full of ways, even if only minute, in which students attempted to circumvent the system and assert their own independence.

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<sup>8</sup> Mary-Ellen Kelm, “‘A Scandalous Procession’: Residential Schooling and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900-1950”, *Native Studies Review*, 11.2 (1996), 53.

<sup>9</sup> K. Tsianina Lomawaima, “Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority Over Mind and Body”, *American Ethnologist*, 20.2, (1997), 228.

<sup>10</sup> Miller (1996); Milloy (1999).

<sup>11</sup> Phil Fontaine in Jaine (1995), 49.

<sup>12</sup> Jack Funk in Jaine (1995), 68.

Milloy and Miller state that although the power relations favoured the churches and the government, occasionally student and parental resistance did have an effect on the system. Miller argues that the resistance, specifically from the community, provided Aboriginal peoples with some control over the education of their children and contributed to the eventual closure of the residential school era.<sup>13</sup> Resistance emanating from the community had a better chance of provoking a significant response than those practiced by students since community protests/complaints were given directly to influential missionaries or the Indian Affairs Department. The causes, the effects and the amount of resistance varied from community to community. Miller gives examples of community resistance via protest, petitions, withholding children from school, and continuing to perform the traditional practices that the schools' administrators were attempting to eliminate. Miller also describes acts of resistance demonstrated by the students such as running away or stealing food and other confrontational forms of opposition. Other acts of resistance included those that went unnoticed by school staffs, such as finding elaborate ways of passing messages to members of the opposite sex. These acts seem to be more difficult to uncover since they have purposely been hidden, particularly from school administration, yet are important because they indicate that the students continually worked towards their own ends.

Haig-Brown presents a thorough examination of resistance and identities in her case study of the Kamloops Residential School.<sup>14</sup> Although Haig-Brown makes use of some archival material, her main source of data is thirteen interviews with former students at the school. Haig-Brown identifies a number of overt methods such as stealing, speaking traditional languages and running away, which she thinks students used to oppose the

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<sup>13</sup> See Miller (1996), 343-374.

<sup>14</sup> Haig-Brown (1988).

severity of the rules controlling their lives at the school. Running away was an extremely common, and overt, attempt to escape the schools' reaches. Rarely, however, were the students successful. Pearl Achneepineskum illustrates that running away had the potential to end very badly.<sup>15</sup> In 1966 her brother died attempting to travel 700 miles home after running away from the abuses he faced at school. Another means of permanently escaping the schools was suicide. Furniss writes of the suicide pact at Williams Lake Residential School that ended in the death of one pupil in 1920.<sup>16</sup>

Knockwood documents many forms of resistance with an emphasis on creative, yet not necessarily obvious, acts.<sup>17</sup> For example, she notes that students created insulting nicknames for priests or nuns, wore heavy clothing to avoid the pain of punishment, urinated in milk intended for priests and nuns, and wiggled their toes under a blanket when told to be absolutely still. Other forms of covert resistance may have included creating a complex way of communicating with others in the school, maintaining traditional culture, withholding reactions to punishment, and complying with some rules to get ahead.<sup>18</sup> Although students may have conformed to some of the pressures to change, they found creative ways to resist the objectives of school administrators. Lomawaima focuses particularly on how female students resisted the dress code at school. She views the relationships in the residential school environment as interactions that the Aboriginal students helped to produce by creating spaces of resistance within the often-oppressive institutions. Lomawaima claims that these actions were "linked inextricably with their identity today, as alumni of an Indian school".<sup>19</sup> Haig-Brown also attempts to portray the complexity of the struggles for identities within the

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<sup>15</sup> Jaine (1995), 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> Furniss (1992), 92.

<sup>17</sup> Knockwood (1992).

<sup>18</sup> Haig-Brown (1988), 98-114.

<sup>19</sup> Lomawaima (1997), 236.

school and argues that through resistance students produced their own counter-cultures (that were distinct from that promoted by the church) demonstrating that they did not comply completely with their oppression.<sup>20</sup>

Haig-Brown points out that, at first glance, some acts, like those previously discussed, may not seem like the students were overtly resisting the assimilative goals of the residential school. But, if viewed from a different perspective, she suggests that they can be interpreted as daily efforts to resist and circumvent power. Essentially, students desired to have some control over their daily lives and their own identities rather than submissively accepting what government and churches were attempting to impose upon them. The repeated recurrence of the theme of resistance in documents produced by former students indicates the importance of these acts for the students themselves. Perhaps the acts represented a means of making life more bearable at the time, or, perhaps discussing acts that demonstrate student agency make the memories less harsh.

The existing literature on residential schools explores numerous aspects of the institutions from an array of perspectives, the most pertinent being student experiences. While attending residential schools, students had very few resources with which to draw attention to their grievances. Furthermore, when students did grieve, clerical and secular administrators often dismissed their concerns. Residential schools were an environment in which brokers of European culture strove to control the minds and bodies of individuals in order to create a manageable population. Nevertheless, students were not completely powerless. Relying on creativity and imagination students were able to resist, confuse and evade exercises of power permeating the schools.

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<sup>20</sup> Haig-Brown (1988), 114.

Some of the literature, then, has begun to explore exercise of power, acts of resistance and identity formation. However, this literature does not fully explore the power relations that existed within the residential schools, including acts of resistance and the struggle to negotiate students' identities. Since we are aware that conditions in each school vary, how power was manifested within each school will also differ. This thesis explores how power was exercised within Spanish Residential School, and suggests various tactics students may have employed in an effort to resist, cope with and/or alter their situations. My contribution to the literature will, therefore, be to contribute to an understanding of the negotiation of identities. More specifically, I hope to help provide an understanding of the particular workings of Spanish Residential School.

#### Theoretical Perspective

*"For the individual, the subject, is held not to be a stable identity but the ductile product of struggles, of ongoing relations of power/knowledge and resistance."*

~ Thiele, *"The Agony of Politics: The Nietzschean Roots of Foucault's Thought"* (1990),  
921 ~

Staff and students at Spanish employed various strategies in the ongoing struggle over identities. These strategies were made manifest in everyday activities wherein staff tried to control every facet of the students' lives and students worked to evade this control. This chapter will explore how the powerful wield disciplinary power to mould a population and how subordinates use acts of resistance to evade, interrupt, maintain and create identities that are different from those being imposed upon them.

To begin, it is necessary to understand the context of power relations within this thesis. To define power, one must acknowledge that it is a facility – one exercises power,

one does not possess 'power'.<sup>21</sup> Although Heller notes that some, such as Marx, view power as repressive, exercises of power are neither predominantly negative nor positive. Power is "coterminous with social change" no matter how slight the change or whether the result is a move toward freedom or repression.<sup>22</sup> Power, although asymmetrical, is omnipresent throughout all societal relations.<sup>23</sup> Power relations, therefore, permeated Spanish Residential School. More specifically, it is the disciplinary power relations at Spanish that will be part of the focus of this thesis.

The exercise of disciplinary power creates individuals, with the qualities desired by those who wield it.<sup>24</sup> However, it usually remains undetected due to its anonymous and dispersed nature.<sup>25</sup> Lynch notes that power relations are neither the only nor necessarily the most important relations within all situations, but emphasizes that they are always present.<sup>26</sup> Heller writes that individuals are, "both the *subjects* and the *objects* of power" who are continually, and simultaneously, exercising and being manipulated by power relations.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Ransom suggests that subjects are never influenced from only one direction but are continually entangled in a myriad of power relations.<sup>28</sup>

Wielders of power strive to direct actions of an individual or a group in a certain direction when there are actually numerous possible alternatives to be chosen. This involves the correct training, or retraining, to form normal, obedient subjects through the meticulous

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<sup>21</sup> Kevin Jon Heller, "Power, Subjectification and Resistance in Foucault", *Sub-stance*, 25.1 (1996), 84.

<sup>22</sup> Heller (1996), 83.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Lynch, "Is Power All There Is? Michel Foucault and the 'Omnipresence' of Power Relations", *Philosophy Today*, 42.1 (1998), 65.

<sup>24</sup> John Ransom, *Foucault's Discipline: The Politics of Subjectivity* (London, 1997), 17.

<sup>25</sup> Ransom, (1997), 18.

<sup>26</sup> Lynch (1998), 65.

<sup>27</sup> Heller (1996), 80.

<sup>28</sup> Ransom (1997), 47.

regulation of the body in time and space.<sup>29</sup> The exercise of disciplinary power, according to Ransom, allows for the moulding of an “unorganized, untrained and potentially disruptive ... population” into a productive, politically docile group.<sup>30</sup> The exercise of disciplinary power is facilitated and maintained through combinations of hierarchical observation, normalizing judgments, classification, and examination.<sup>31</sup> Foucault states that, “ultimately what one is trying to restore in this technique of correction is...the obedient subject, the individual subjected to habits, rules, orders and authority that is exercised continually around him and upon him, and which he must allow to function automatically in him”.<sup>32</sup>

Hierarchical observation entails arranging a site of disciplinary power in such a way that enables optimal surveillance and examination.<sup>33</sup> For example, Jeremy Bentham used the panopticon to demonstrate an ideal situation resulting in people modifying their own behaviour as a result of not knowing whether or not they were being watched.<sup>34</sup> Shurmer-Smith and Hannam indicate that those watching often do so out of a sense of duty to another, not out of pleasure, and note that the higher one’s authority the more privacy one receives.<sup>35</sup> Ideally, surveillance is a constant, single gaze that sees everything at all times. Continual surveillance combined with mandatory activities “allows an alteration or bending of individuals according to a preconceived notion”.<sup>36</sup> Essentially, in this environment, subjects would automatically conform without authorities resorting to coercion.

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<sup>29</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York, 1977), 137.

<sup>30</sup> Ransom (1997), 40.

<sup>31</sup> Foucault (1977), 170.

<sup>32</sup> Foucault (1977), 128-129.

<sup>33</sup> Jon Simons, *Foucault and the Political* (London, 1995), 31.

<sup>34</sup> Ransom (1997), 47.

<sup>35</sup> P. Shurmer-Smith and K. Hannam, *Worlds of Desire, Realms of Power: A Cultural Geography* (London, 1994), 171.

<sup>36</sup> Ransom (1997), 50.

Hierarchical observations enable normalizing judgements that act to define 'correct' behaviour through a system of punishments and rewards. Normalization of behaviour occurs, for example, in schools, prisons, families, communities, and places of employment.<sup>37</sup> Normalization is an attempt to create the 'normal child', a 'healthy body' or a 'stable mind' by making us question ourselves, evaluate ourselves, and conform to the 'ideal' because the 'ideal' is legitimized by various authority figures.<sup>38</sup> Deviation is an offence against a perceived objective law - a clear distinction exists between right and wrong, good and bad.<sup>39</sup> Any behaviour that deviates from the norm is obviously undesirable and the 'ideal' is often reinforced through a system of rewards. These rewards, which promote a desire to achieve a certain status, are used to alter performance rather than coercion and punishment.<sup>40</sup> Ideally, subjects would voluntarily comply, demonstrating little reluctance to the often covert exercises of power. Repetition moves all individuals "closer to the norm, though it is also true that the position of the norm has a tendency to climb slowly up the scale to accommodate a shifting mean of performance".<sup>41</sup>

When normalizing judgements are unsuccessful in modifying behaviour the powerful may resort to other means. Although not an aspect of disciplinary power, corporal punishment must be briefly discussed since numerous forms of physical discipline occurred at Spanish. Various scholars maintain that the purpose of punishment is to prevent future wrongdoings, to reform the wrongdoer or to "deter other potential offenders".<sup>42</sup> Carlsmith, Darley and Robinson discuss two significant motives for punishment, deterrence and just

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<sup>37</sup> Mark Philp, "Michel Foucault", in Quentin Skinner, ed., *The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences* (Cambridge, 1985), 67.

<sup>38</sup> Philp (1985), 67.

<sup>39</sup> Simons (1995), 45.

<sup>40</sup> Ransom (1997), 51.

<sup>41</sup> Ransom (1997), 50-51.

<sup>42</sup> Anthony Ellis, "A Deterrence Theory of Punishment", *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 53.212 (2003), 337.



deserts. Deterrence theory holds that punishment is meant to prevent future incidents.<sup>43</sup> The person being punished is used as an example so that others learn the consequences of the violation. The more undetectable the crime is, the more severe the punishment. In this case, punishment is proportional to the amount of publicity it will acquire as opposed to the crime. In just deserts theory the deterrence of future acts is secondary to ensuring a wrong has been righted.<sup>44</sup> The severity of the punishment is proportional to the type, and offensiveness, of the crime. In this instance, punishment is a means of blaming the person for their intentional act and is often committed in response to moral outrage.<sup>45</sup> Carlsmith, Darley and Robinson conclude that most people punish to get just deserts, not to deter.<sup>46</sup> However, scholars indicate that, particularly with children, punishments typically serve to increase problematic behaviour.<sup>47</sup>

While normalization enables subjects by providing them with skills through training, normalization inevitably leads to the exclusion of those who do not, or cannot, conform and the label 'other', 'bad' or 'abnormal' may be applied.<sup>48</sup> Subjects are classified and ranked according to their ability to reach the norm, often through ritualized examination. Normalization imposes homogeneity upon subjects, but at the same time individualizes them by enabling the measurement of gaps and accomplishments, and exposing all individual differences. Examination provides further data for classification according to the norm and at the same time is another means of surveillance. Foucault states that examination "establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges

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<sup>43</sup> Kevin M Carlsmith, John M. Darley and Paul H. Robinson, "Why do we punish? Deterrence and Just Deserts as Motives for Punishment", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83.2 (2002), 285.

<sup>44</sup> Carlsmith, Darley and Robinson (2002), 285.

<sup>45</sup> Carlsmith, Darley and Robinson (2002), 296.

<sup>46</sup> Carlsmith, Darley and Robinson (2002), 295.

<sup>47</sup> Joan McCord, "Introduction", in Joan McCord, ed., *Coercion and Punishment in Long-Term Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1995), 3.

<sup>48</sup> Ransom (1997), 51.

them”.<sup>49</sup> Although disciplinary power is an invisible force, it imposes a visibility upon its subjects that demonstrates the hold the powerful have over them.<sup>50</sup>

Key to the formation of docile bodies is ‘micropower’, the control of meticulous detail. Spaces are controlled, partitioned, designated for specific uses. Cresswell writes, “space and place are used to structure a normative landscape – the way in which ideas about what is right, just, and appropriate are transmitted through space and place”.<sup>51</sup> Foucault indicates that the first step in the disciplinary process is the distribution of individual space, beginning with enclosure and confinement.<sup>52</sup> These spaces must have a very specific shape. The powerful actively work to prevent interference from those who may hamper the desired outcome.<sup>53</sup> Institutional segregation minimizes outside interference by separating the abnormal from the normal to retrain subjects and encourage more acceptable habits. Individuals are organized within this space, which is designed to promote optimal surveillance that is both general and individual. This creates a functional space that serves the purpose of both supervision and hierarchicalization.<sup>54</sup>

The creation of docile bodies also relies on the meticulous regulation of time. Time is divided into rigid segments to establish patterns and repetition through the use of timetables to ensure that no irregularities occur.<sup>55</sup> Foucault indicates that control of time must be continual and unceasing rather than sporadic, irregular or predictable.<sup>56</sup> Specific tasks are assigned within established periods to control activities and to encourage normal behaviour

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<sup>49</sup> Foucault (1977), 184.

<sup>50</sup> Foucault (1977), 187.

<sup>51</sup> T. Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis, 1996), 8.

<sup>52</sup> Foucault (1977), 141-142.

<sup>53</sup> Ransom (1997), 35.

<sup>54</sup> Foucault (1977), 145 & 147.

<sup>55</sup> Foucault (1977), 149-151.

<sup>56</sup> Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, with an afterward by Michel Foucault, *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago, 1982), 154.

and social order. In other words, “time penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power”.<sup>57</sup>

In order to control subject bodies, it is essential that dominant groups dictate both activities and their duration. In this process, “a sort of anatomo-chronological schema of behaviour is defined. The act is broken down into its elements; the position of the body limbs, articulations is defined; to each movement are assigned a direction, an aptitude, a duration; their order of succession is prescribed”.<sup>58</sup> Ransom, like Kelm, nicely sums this concept up by stating, “get hold of their bodies – their hearts and minds will follow”.<sup>59</sup> Through the meticulous control of space and time combined with continual hierarchical observation, normalizing judgements and examination subjects will automatically conform, perhaps unknowingly, to the norms imposed by those wielding power. Any behaviour that falls outside of the ‘norm’ is considered undesirable and transgressive individuals (those who push or overstep boundaries) are subjected to intense retraining. The use of disciplinary power focuses on controlling the mind and the body of the individual with the assumption that acceptance of the ‘correct’ qualities will lead to the successful management of the population.<sup>60</sup>

Power relations, in a positive sense, enable subjects in that they would not be able to act outside of this relationship.<sup>61</sup> Within this relationship subjects are expected to be obedient, however, subjects may also withdraw their obedience.<sup>62</sup> Resistance enables individuals and groups to challenge and, possibly, to alter power relations. Heller argues

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<sup>57</sup> Foucault (1977), 153.

<sup>58</sup> Foucault (1977), 152.

<sup>59</sup> Ransom (1997), 47.

<sup>60</sup> Shurmer-Smith and Hannam (1994), 172.

<sup>61</sup> Simons (1995), 82.

<sup>62</sup> Simons (1995), 85-86.

that, for Foucault, power and resistance are two names given “to the same capacity – the capacity to implement change”.<sup>63</sup> Naming resistance privileges certain types of subjects that exercise power. However, although individuals or groups demonstrating acts of resistance have little or no liberty, and are exercising less power, they are not “power-less”.<sup>64</sup>

Resistance is to be expected. Foucault, for example, does not envision a society without power, but does not argue that one is trapped merely because one can never exist outside of power relations.<sup>65</sup> Power relations do not, and cannot, exist without resistances and resistances would not exist without power relations.<sup>66</sup> Thiele states that though we exist within webs of power, we have the ability to strive constantly to “resist its reach, relocate its boundaries, and challenge its authority”.<sup>67</sup> Though many try to free themselves from power relations, subordinates do not always strive to end the struggle completely (if that were even possible) but seek to continue the struggle for self-creation.<sup>68</sup>

Ransom, citing Foucault’s statement that “individuals are the effect of power but are also its vehicles” argues that this particular phrase could evoke two responses.<sup>69</sup> The first is that subjects are completely shaped and dependent upon disciplinary power. In this case, the subject would not resist, but would completely support the systems of power. A second, and more optimistic, interpretation suggests that because subjects are so intimately involved in the system of power they are in an optimal position to resist.<sup>70</sup> This view enhances the fragility and ambiguity of systems of power and suggests a potential weakness as “some

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<sup>63</sup> Heller (1996), 99.

<sup>64</sup> Heller (1996), 99.

<sup>65</sup> Foucault cited in Simons (1995), 81.

<sup>66</sup> Lynch (1998), 66.

<sup>67</sup> Leslie Paul Thiele, “The Agony of Politics: The Nietzschean Roots of Foucault’s Thought”, *The American Political Science Review*, 84.3 (1990), 918.

<sup>68</sup> David Butz and Michael Ripmeester, “Finding Space for Resistant Subcultures”, *Invisible Culture [Online]*, 2 (1999), available: [http://www.rochester.edu.in\\_visible\\_culture/issue2/butz.htm](http://www.rochester.edu.in_visible_culture/issue2/butz.htm); Thiele (1990), 919.

<sup>69</sup> Foucault, cited in Ransom (1997), 35.

<sup>70</sup> Ransom (1997), 35.

vehicles may go off the designated path in directions that frustrate the purpose for which they were originally developed”.<sup>71</sup> Individuals may, therefore, stray from the behaviour that is expected of them by authority figures in ways that do not complement their training. Potentially, all systems of power can be reversed or at least slightly modified.<sup>72</sup> Recognizing power relations necessitates the recognition of potential change.<sup>73</sup>

Given the interrelated nature of disciplinary power and acts of resistance, not only is it important to be able to identify exercises of disciplinary power that permeated Spanish Residential School, but it is equally important to be able to identify responses to these practices. Resistances allow one to evade the exercises of power that attempt to shape identities.<sup>74</sup> Scott, in a discussion of resistance in terms of a public and a private transcript, provides a useful way of penetrating acts of resistance.<sup>75</sup> The public transcript reveals only what subordinate groups want dominant groups to see, or, what the dominant groups want the subordinate groups to see. In these situations, true feelings are often masked in favour of expected social roles. Both the dominant and subordinate perform the public transcript in places of maximum surveillance. The private, or hidden, transcript is only revealed in the company of peers and is the result of power relations among subordinates. According to Scott, it “exists only to the extent it is practiced, articulated, enacted, and disseminated within these offstage social sites”.<sup>76</sup> Varying degrees of the public and hidden transcript exist depending of the types of power relations present in any given circumstance. The hidden transcript will be most uninhibited “first, when it is voiced in a sequestered social site where

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<sup>71</sup> Ransom (1997), 36.

<sup>72</sup> Heller (1996), 101.

<sup>73</sup> Lynch (1998), 66

<sup>74</sup> Stanley Cohen and Laurie Taylor, *Escape Attempts: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Everyday Life* (London, 1992), 159.

<sup>75</sup> James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (New Haven, 1990), 17-44.

<sup>76</sup> James Scott (1990), 119.

the control, surveillance, and repression of the dominant are least able to reach, and second, when this sequestered social milieu is composed entirely of close confidants who share similar experiences of domination”.<sup>77</sup> The actions of subjects will, therefore, hinge upon the space the individual or group occupies. The social sites in which resistance is nurtured are themselves a result of resistances and enable the formation of a collective identity among the subordinate.<sup>78</sup>

In response to threatening exercises of power defensive strategies such as concealment and secrecy provide sanctuary and a means of coping with oppressive situations.<sup>79</sup> Secrecy enables subordinates to create and maintain a world separate from that of the powerful.<sup>80</sup> In other words, “their secrets actually signify the reality they refuse to share or surrender to outsiders”.<sup>81</sup> The coordination and communication among the subordinate have the potential to result in the creation of a counter-culture. Cohen and Taylor argue that the creation of counter-cultures places an emphasis on identity transformation.<sup>82</sup> Individuals define themselves as different from their present reality and embody characteristics that may oppose or modify those imposed by the powerful.<sup>83</sup> This mutuality is a precondition for resistances and provides support and camaraderie for those resisting.<sup>84</sup>

Those immersed in sites of disciplinary power often conform – not because they have internalized values and norms advocated by the dominant group, but because continual

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<sup>77</sup> James Scott (1990), 120.

<sup>78</sup> James Scott (1990), 119.

<sup>79</sup> Kenneth George, “Dark Trembling: Ethnographic Notes on Secrecy and Concealment in Highland Sulawesi”, *Anthropological Quarterly*, 66.4 (1997), 232 & 235.

<sup>80</sup> Gilbert Herdt, “Secret Societies and Secret Collectives”, *Oceania*, 60.4 (1990), 360.

<sup>81</sup> Herdt (1990), 366.

<sup>82</sup> Cohen and Taylor (1992), 161.

<sup>83</sup> Cohen and Taylor (1992), 161.

<sup>84</sup> James Scott (1990), 119.

surveillance and the threat of punishment makes compliance essential.<sup>85</sup> However, when an advantageous circumstance presents itself and surveillance is minimal individuals will likely exploit the situation.<sup>86</sup> Sites of resistance may be physical locations or merely spaces created by the subordinates that enable covert resistances to remain temporarily undetected by authority. Both of these types of sites provide a setting of relative safety. Resistances are most likely to occur in spaces that are least controlled by the dominant group and in the company of close peers who have shared similar experiences.<sup>87</sup> The intensity and types of resistance displayed by subjects will vary according to place, time and company.

Subtlety is often key, and “for good reason nothing is entirely straightforward here; the realities of power for subordinate groups mean that much of their political action requires interpretation precisely because it is intended to be cryptic and opaque”.<sup>88</sup> Scott notes that acts may be overt, covert, obscured, direct, organized or instantaneous and may be either collective or individual attempts to evade or circumvent systems of power. Most acts, however, are committed anonymously or ambiguously to avoid retaliation.<sup>89</sup> Resistances in the form of mass defiance provide anonymity in numbers because identification of an instigator is not usually possible.<sup>90</sup> In some cases it is necessary to conceal the message so that the action is either unidentifiable as resistance to authority figures or the act is too ambiguous to be punishable.<sup>91</sup> In others situations it is necessary to conceal the messenger so that those responsible remain anonymous.<sup>92</sup> In yet other circumstances both the message and the messenger are masked in order to avoid retaliation. In situations of direct

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<sup>85</sup> James Scott (1990), 193.

<sup>86</sup> James Scott (1990), 195.

<sup>87</sup> James Scott (1990), 120.

<sup>88</sup> James Scott (1990), 137.

<sup>89</sup> James Scott (1990), 202.

<sup>90</sup> James Scott (1990), 152.

<sup>91</sup> James Scott (1990), 139.

<sup>92</sup> James Scott (1990), 139.

confrontation, in which all parties and intentions are identified, both the message and the messenger are disclosed.<sup>93</sup>

On a similar note, Butz and Ripmeester discuss ‘off kilter’ resistance as a type of non-confrontational resistance that is not necessarily an overt method of opposing power but is comprised of ambiguous practices that allow for the evasion of power relations in situations that are the most convenient, promising and advantageous for the subordinate group.<sup>94</sup> ‘Off kilter’ resistances can disrupt and confuse the powerful. Those resisting are aware of the oppressive nature of power relations, meaning that they are able to take advantage of its intricacies and slowly change their situation.<sup>95</sup> ‘Off-kilter’ resistances are not necessarily meant to create lasting effects. They are, however, designed to create opportunities that allow for resistances in the future.

Cresswell highlights transgressive behaviour as a specific form of resistance.<sup>96</sup> Transgressive behaviour, according to Cresswell, is worth differentiating from other forms of resistance because it is characterized not as an act that merely evades power or asserts subject agency, but as an act that is defined by its outcome. That is, Cresswell suggests that transgressive behaviour helps to indicate where the boundaries of ‘normal’ are by invoking a response when these boundaries have been crossed. The spaces in which these acts are committed determine whether or not the behaviour is considered transgressive. For example, resistances may be transgressive if they are carried out in an environment in which they will be noticed, heightening the possibility that the transgressor will be reprimanded. However,

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<sup>93</sup> James Scott (1990), 139.

<sup>94</sup> Butz and Ripmeester (1999), available: [http://www.rochester.edu.in\\_visible\\_culture/issue2/butz.htm](http://www.rochester.edu.in_visible_culture/issue2/butz.htm).

<sup>95</sup> Butz and Ripmeester (1999), available: [http://www.rochester.edu.in\\_visible\\_culture/issue2/butz.htm](http://www.rochester.edu.in_visible_culture/issue2/butz.htm).

<sup>96</sup> Cresswell (1996), particularly 21-27.



the same act may not be considered transgressive if committed in an environment in which the act is deemed acceptable or goes unnoticed.

By resisting, anyone can potentially shift or alter the power relations in which they find themselves entangled.<sup>97</sup> However, Butz and Ripmeester suggest that there is no form of resistance that guarantees a permanent and complete reversal of power relations because there is no certainty that resistance will create a desired or advantageous result.<sup>98</sup> For instance, the outcome could be more oppressive than the situation being resisted. Furthermore, since all power relations are subject to change, the new situation produced through resistance will not be permanent.<sup>99</sup> The importance of resistance and struggle is that they allow for fleeting glimpses of freedom, which may serve to maintain and foster the spirit of resistance.<sup>100</sup> These outcomes may allow for “an at least temporary inversion of power relations”, perhaps even restoring agency to subjects.<sup>101</sup> Resisters are not passive or without hope. They are however, “dispersed, mobile, local and heterogeneous”, a state which often leaves them vulnerable to various exercises of power.<sup>102</sup>

The continual struggle between exercises of power and resistance leads to the negotiation of identities between the powerful and the subordinates. The exercise of disciplinary power is an attempt to homogenize identities and repress individuality through the process of normalization. However, while those who wield disciplinary power strive to create subjects, individuals and groups have the opportunity to oppose them.<sup>103</sup> In rejecting the behaviour expected of them, subjects may work to maintain, or negotiate new,

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<sup>97</sup> Foucault (1977), 27.

<sup>98</sup> Butz and Ripmeester (1999), available: [http://www.rochester.edu.in\\_visible\\_culture/issue2/butz.htm](http://www.rochester.edu.in_visible_culture/issue2/butz.htm).

<sup>99</sup> Foucault (1977), 27.

<sup>100</sup> Thiele (1990), 923.

<sup>101</sup> Foucault (1977), 27.

<sup>102</sup> Colin Gordon, “Birth of the Subject – Foucault”, in R. Edgley & R. Osborne, eds., *Radical Philosophy Reader* (London, 1985), 73.

<sup>103</sup> Ransom (1997), 46.

identities.<sup>104</sup> However, the creation of new identities does not go unchallenged. Depending on the type of resistance encountered, the powerful may seek to segregate, retrain, or punish those who refuse to comply. According to Thiele, therefore, Foucault proposes that identity is not stable, but is the malleable product of continual struggles between the exercising of power and resistances.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, Keith and Pile argue that identity can be understood as a process as opposed to an outcome, since identities involve continual negotiation.<sup>106</sup>

Allan Pred discusses individual biographies, the cumulative experiences of an individual that are specific to particular times and spaces.<sup>107</sup> He suggests that biographies are not simply a combination of individual personality and consciousness, but of everyday activities, interactions and encounters, influenced by power relations.<sup>108</sup> When defining or redefining oneself choices are made, either intentionally or unintentionally and interactions with others can either reinforce existing identities or assist in the acquisition of new ideas or information.<sup>109</sup> Identities are, therefore, relational (meaning they may be defined by what they are not) and are contingent on historical, spatial and social contexts.<sup>110</sup> Resistances, then, are not merely struggles against exercises of power, but are struggles for further resistance and self-creation.<sup>111</sup> At the very least, resistances create the opportunities for self-creation and the assertion of individuality. Thus, resistances do not necessarily aim to alter

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<sup>104</sup> Melanie Walker, "Engineering Identities", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 22.2 (2001), 78.

<sup>105</sup> Thiele (1990), 921.

<sup>106</sup> Michael Keith and Steve Pile, eds., *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London, 1993), 27-28.

<sup>107</sup> Allan Pred, *Place, Practice and Structure: Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden: 1750-1850* (Totowa, New Jersey, 1986), 10.

<sup>108</sup> Pred (1986), 21.

<sup>109</sup> Pred (1986), 20.

<sup>110</sup> Pred (1986), 21; Keith and Pile (1993), 27.

<sup>111</sup> Thiele (1990), 919.

or eradicate power relations, but enable subjects to oppose their normalization and negotiate their own identities that are different from that being imposed by the powerful.<sup>112</sup>

Understanding the mechanisms of power and resistance, along with their significance, will enable a later discussion of how these struggles permeated Spanish Residential School. While wielders of disciplinary power attempt to remould subjects, resistances allow for alternative identities to be maintained or formed that are not necessarily counter to, but that are different from the identity the dominant group is trying to impose. The goal of many resistances is to leave no evidence, which makes detection of the act difficult and provides protection to those resisting.<sup>113</sup> The struggles against exercises of power have the potential to become landmarks in the struggles over identity, indicating the importance of acts of resistance.<sup>114</sup> Thus, subjects must strive to shape themselves because if they do not, others will.<sup>115</sup> Throughout these endeavours, even the smallest of successes provides encouragement for others.<sup>116</sup>

### Methodology

*"Precisely because such political action is studiously designed to be anonymous or to disclaim its purpose, infrapolitics requires more than a little interpretation."*

~ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), 200 ~

### *Transitions in Aboriginal Literature*

Until the 1970s historical studies of Canada generally ignored Aboriginal peoples or portrayed them with stereotypical images, as people who merely reacted to Europeans as

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<sup>112</sup> Ronald Wendt, "Answers to the Gaze: A Genealogical Poaching of Resistances" *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 82 (1996), 255 & 265.

<sup>113</sup> James Scott (1990), 200.

<sup>114</sup> Thiele (1990), 921.

<sup>115</sup> Ransom (1997).

<sup>116</sup> James Scott (1990), 196.

opposed to participating actively in the creation of the past.<sup>117</sup> In almost every case those who were unfamiliar with Aboriginal cultures and values wrote about Aboriginal peoples with ethnocentric views.<sup>118</sup> The burgeoning of Aboriginal history within Canada since the late 1970's, and its metamorphosis, can be attributed to the rise of social history, ethnohistorians such as Bruce Trigger and Calvin Martin, increasing contributions by Aboriginal peoples, and growing public awareness of the existence and importance of Aboriginal issues.<sup>119</sup> Beginning in the 1970s scholars began to write about Aboriginal peoples as active participants in history.<sup>120</sup> There has also been recognition of Aboriginal rights and more focus on the diversity of Aboriginal cultures throughout history.<sup>121</sup> Along with this trend was the incorporation of more oral histories as opposed to an exclusive reliance on 'White' documents.<sup>122</sup> More current literatures are permeated by a sense of moral outrage at the treatment of Aboriginal peoples accompanied by advocacy of Aboriginal rights.<sup>123</sup> Today, scholars in disciplines such as political science not only attempt to explain the nature of Aboriginal rights but also suggest means of bridging gaps and dealing with the myriad of issues that plague Canadians from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal backgrounds.<sup>124</sup> While Aboriginal history in Canada did not blossom as quickly as other

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<sup>117</sup> Robin Fisher, "Historical Writing on Native People in Canada", in Carl Berger, ed., *Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History* (Toronto, 1987), 115-116.

<sup>118</sup> Calvin Martin, "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History", *Ethnohistory*, 26.2 (1979), 153.

<sup>119</sup> See B. G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston, 1976) and Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: 1978); Fisher (1987), 115.

<sup>120</sup> See Martin (1978, 1979); Trigger (1976); Kerry Abel, "'Tangled, Lost and Bitter?' Current Directions in the Writing of Native History in Canada", *Acadiensis*, 26.1 (1996), 92.

<sup>121</sup> Abel (1996), 92.

<sup>122</sup> Abel (1996), 99.

<sup>123</sup> Abel (1996), 99.

<sup>124</sup> For examples see Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver, 2000); Cole Harris, *Making Native Spaces: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 2002).

areas, such as histories of women or of the working class, this field has steadily expanded and now encompasses a variety of disciplines and approaches.<sup>125</sup>

Cairns contends that, until recently, Aboriginal peoples were the object of scholarly pieces and had no input regarding how they were represented to Canadian society.<sup>126</sup> Some contributions by Aboriginal peoples began as political pieces of contemporary issues such as Harold Cardinal's *The Unjust Society*, which was written as a response to the infamous White Paper of 1969.<sup>127</sup> However, Aboriginal peoples now make numerous contributions, as demonstrated by the many works authored by Aboriginal peoples used throughout this thesis. The influx of Aboriginal contributions to a variety of literatures serves to influence how they are represented, countering misrepresentations and the "non-Aboriginal cultural bombardment they – especially youth – personally experience."<sup>128</sup>

Voice appropriation – who can speak and write about whom – is a current issue that draws attention to the misrepresentation, and indignity, that often accompanies being constantly written and spoken about by others.<sup>129</sup> Those who have been previously silenced need to be heard. Cairns emphasizes the objective should not be to speak for another, but to create a conversation in which each party learns about and informs the other parties involved.<sup>130</sup> The desired outcome of this conversation is the transformation of existing relationships into ones in which all sides are given the opportunity to articulate differences and empathetically attempt to improve current situations.<sup>131</sup> I would like to emphasize that throughout this thesis I am in no way speaking for those who have experienced, or been

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<sup>125</sup> Abel (1996), 92.

<sup>126</sup> Cairns (2000), 23.

<sup>127</sup> Fisher (1987), 120; Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton, 1969).

<sup>128</sup> Cairns (2000), 44.

<sup>129</sup> Cairns (2000), 14 & 23.

<sup>130</sup> Cairns (2000), 16.

<sup>131</sup> Cairns (2000), 16.

affected by, the residential school system. Rather, I am merely adding a perspective on this particular piece of the past. As a person of non-Aboriginal heritage I have no first-hand experience of residential schools and do not pretend to understand the full extent of the schools' impacts. I hope that others will react to, and perhaps build on, this quest to gain a better understanding of the complex relationships that existed within the residential school system.<sup>132</sup>

### *Methodological Considerations*

Innumerable studies examine the histories of residential schools. Interviews or archival research, which complement autobiographical accounts, are often employed to accomplish this endeavour. I have chosen to broach the subject via accessible archival records and printed sources. This research method was deemed most appropriate, not only because the research will focus on the past, but also because of the sensitive nature of the issues being discussed. As Milloy indicates it would be unethical to interview former residential school students about a topic of such an emotional and delicate nature without being able to provide post-interview support.<sup>133</sup> The selection of a time period that does not lend itself well to interviews presents an entirely new set of caveats.

This study will focus on the years between 1878 and 1930. To attempt to represent the entire lifespan of the schools within this thesis would not only be overwhelming, but would not do the topic justice. Whereas 1878 represents the year that Spanish (then Wikwemikong Industrial School) officially became a federally funded institution, 1930 presents a convenient space to end the thesis. After 1930 some sources began to be classified as restricted, a problem that I rarely encountered with sources dated prior to this year.

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<sup>132</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, *Morality and Imagination: Paradoxes of Progress* (Madison, 1989), x.

<sup>133</sup> J. S. Milloy (1999), viii.

The purpose of this section is to introduce my methodology, to outline how I approached my data collection process and to explore the many quandaries that both entailed. With this in mind, I move to a discussion of archival research. Although I cannot discuss all aspects of working with archival data, I will explore the most important to my project, starting with the archival collections and proceeding to the individual documentary records.

Bonfield and Sompolinsky provide excellent insight to how archives are assembled.<sup>134</sup> The researchers explain that an archive may be created in response to very particular interests. It is essential then, that we are aware of whose agenda influenced the assembly of the archives since those we desire to glean knowledge of often do not create them. Archival collections are political and reflect the changing importance placed on historical events.<sup>135</sup> Factors that are influenced by those who created the archives include: where information is preserved (if at all); how documents are organized and classified within the archive; what information is chosen to be made available or merely stored; who is able to access the information and; what information should be available electronically. Ultimately, archivists' agendas and perspectives (along with those of their financial supporters) create the archives and, in turn, regulate what information is available. Archives are by no means impartial or equally representative of all factions of society, but will always be exclusive and partial. Therefore, knowledge produced based on material retrieved from archives will also be incomplete and may naively incorporate the various prejudices of the authors of documents stored there.

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<sup>134</sup> Lynn Bonfield and Leon Sompolinsky, "The Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University", *Labour History*, 31.2 (1990), 219-226.

<sup>135</sup> Richard Harvey Brown and Beth Davis-Brown, "The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness", *History of the Human Sciences*, 11.4 (1998), 18; Barry Schwartz, "The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory", *Social Forces*, 61.2 (1982), 374.

As Brown and Davis-Brown note the creation of an archive is also the construction of memory.<sup>136</sup> However, the creation of memory must also be seen as an act of forgetting because in order to remember some events we choose to forget others.<sup>137</sup> Bills reminds us that “we often forget that public memory is as selective as personal memory” and notes that there are many events throughout history that have been selectively ‘forgotten’ and that need to be recaptured so that we can come to terms with, and better understand, the past.<sup>138</sup>

Consideration should also be given to who created the documents that are available and under what circumstances they were created, since these conditions will reflect the knowledge that was recorded and possibly made available within the archives. The author of any document will have always been selective when deciding what to include. Trace suggests viewing documents as proactive and not merely reactive to a situation since they may have been created to produce an effect or as “an opportunity to advance one’s cause”.<sup>139</sup> The intended audience will shape both the style and the content of a particular piece. Information may be held back if the author does not think the person or group receiving the information should be aware of the knowledge or would be interested in it.<sup>140</sup> The *Indian Affairs Annual Reports*, for example, may be misleading since the school principal may have desired to portray the respective school as positively as possible as they were under constant pressure to convince the government of their success in order to maintain funding.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Brown and Davis-Brown (1998), 19.

<sup>137</sup> Budiawan, “When Memory Challenges History: Public Contestation of the Past in Post-Suharto Indonesia”, *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 28.2 (2000), 44.

<sup>138</sup> Scott Bills, “Public Memory, Commemoration, and the ‘Régime of Truth’”, *Peace & Change*, 23.2 (1998), 187.

<sup>139</sup> C. B. Trace, “What is Recorded is Never Simply ‘What Happened’: Record Keeping in Modern Organizational Culture”, *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 155.

<sup>140</sup> Daniel Clayton, “Absence, Memory and Geography”, *B.C. Studies*, 132 (2001/02), 72.

<sup>141</sup> C. L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched, and Redeemable* (Albuquerque, 2000), 159.



Sources based on recollection are subjective and are biased by the authors' knowledge, interpretations, opinions and experiences.<sup>142</sup> Contextualizing documents, along with familiarizing ourselves with the peoples being studied, should positively affect the knowledge that we extract from archival materials. For instance, ethnocentrism is present in almost all documents relating to Aboriginal history.<sup>143</sup> Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Aboriginal peoples were often viewed as vanishing, uncivilized, pagan, yet noble, children whose only hope for survival was to conform to civilized Christian ways.<sup>144</sup> These attitudes may have influenced the ways both government and church personnel treated and wrote about Aboriginal peoples. The sources will, therefore, reflect the asymmetrical power relations between the Euro-Canadian religious or government authors and the people they were representing.

Another important consideration is that those creating the documents may have disguised their "self interest as altruisms and ruthless opportunism as the workings of providences".<sup>145</sup> Similarly, Lovell indicates that nothing is as it seems and that everything is written from a particular perspective with specific intentions, whether or not this is known or acknowledged by the author.<sup>146</sup> For example, Lovell discusses the huge gap in colonial Guatemalan history between what was recorded, and perhaps idealized, by colonial officials and the actual conditions in which the Aboriginal peoples lived. In turn, he suggests that our

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<sup>142</sup> K. A. Knowles, "Historical Geography of Welsh Emigration to the United States, 1775-1850", in *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier* (Chicago, 1997), 9.

<sup>143</sup> B. G. Trigger, "Ethnohistory: the unfinished edifice", *Ethnohistory* 33.3 (1986), 255.

<sup>144</sup> For a more in-depth exploration of how Aboriginal peoples have been portrayed by various parties throughout history please see Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver, 1992); Thomas Berger, *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492-1992* (Vancouver, 1991); Menno Boldt, *Surviving as Indians: The Challenge of Self-Government* (Toronto, 1993).

<sup>145</sup> Trigger (1986), 264.

<sup>146</sup> W. G. Lovell, "Mayans, Missionaries, Evidence and Truth: The Polemics of Native Resettlement in Sixteenth-Century Guatemala", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 16.3 (1990), 284.

view of the past is deluded, distorted and does not portray the “lived experience” of Guatemalans.<sup>147</sup> We need, therefore, to question constantly why, and to what end, certain statements are being made in documents. Trigger contends that portraying certain images of Aboriginal peoples served a purpose to those recording documents.<sup>148</sup> He notes that Aboriginals would be described as docile if they conformed easily or as a problem if they resisted. Documents are thus not representative of Aboriginal peoples, but reflect how the person writing the document may use the portrayal of Aboriginal peoples to further their own means.

Record keepers also exclude a great deal of information because some people consider certain incidents to be ‘nonevents’.<sup>149</sup> Thus, for a variety of reasons, we can never be aware of all occurrences. Different degrees of importance, significance and consequence are attached to every incident for each group of individuals. Those with the ability to record or produce history overlook what they do not consider important, significant or consequential and, therefore, exclude information simply because it is unknown, forgotten, bypassed or not regarded as a worthy event to record or upon which to report. To gain a broad understanding of the fragmented past it is imperative that researchers use a wide spectrum of documents, including both new and unused sources, to access as much information as possible. With a more diverse selection of documents, a new perception of the past may be available. Although a true analysis of the information does not exist, a more informed analysis is always an advantage. However, not everything that happens is recorded, not all information that was recorded has survived to the present and, finally, not all information that has survived has been preserved within an archival collection. Hence, an unknown amount of

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<sup>147</sup> Lovell (1990), 278.

<sup>148</sup> B. G. Trigger (1976), 4-5.

<sup>149</sup> Raymond D. Fogelson, “The Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents”, *Ethnohistory*, 36.2 (1989), 141-143.

information will be forever unavailable to us.<sup>150</sup> Although it is difficult not to give available knowledge precedence over what we do not know, we must always keep in mind that the information we have is never complete and may not even be representative of past events.

Fogelson indicates that “histories do not exist as preformed narratives awaiting discovery” but are produced by people who use their perspectives to link events together creatively.<sup>151</sup> When conducting historical research, the particular perspective used to view history and the type of knowledge that one expects to find is significant. The nature of my thesis is not to reveal a single ‘truth’, but is rather to examine the knowledges that history has not privileged by paying attention to the silences within existing knowledge/literature as an aid to understanding both the past and present. This cause may fit into the broad definition of “social history: to give voice to the silent and the silenced.”<sup>152</sup> However, that being said, it is not enough to describe the silenced, but it is essential that we attempt to make their voices matter.<sup>153</sup>

Experiences and understandings of the past are heterogeneous and often display conflicting narratives.<sup>154</sup> Generally, history excludes specific knowledges while privileging others, perhaps for the purpose of presenting a façade of homogeneity.<sup>155</sup> Nonetheless, gaps and silences within discourses of the past are indicative of the ‘Other’ and should not be dismissed as they too may maintain a narrative.<sup>156</sup> What is hidden or remains unspoken in the document record has the potential to be more revealing and important than what is

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<sup>150</sup> John Scott, *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research* (Cambridge, 1990), 25.

<sup>151</sup> Fogelson (1989), 141.

<sup>152</sup> Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith, eds., *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations* (Toronto, 1997), 3.

<sup>153</sup> Sider and Smith (1997), 14.

<sup>154</sup> Budiawan (2000), 36.

<sup>155</sup> H. D. Harootunian, “Foucault, Genealogy, History: The Pursuit of Otherness”, in J Arac, ed., *Rethinking Foucault: Humanistic Knowledge, Post-Modern Challenges* (London, 1988), 114.

<sup>156</sup> Harootunian (1988), 115; Sider and Smith (1997).

explicitly stated. To continually ask new questions and produce new narratives to explain better the Aboriginal silences in existing histories is, therefore, vital.<sup>157</sup>

It is imperative to view the “splits, tensions, and antagonisms within a culture, not simply *in* history but *as* history” and to acknowledge that the past is comprised of continual struggle.<sup>158</sup> History, like other discourses, is simultaneously a form of knowledge and power.<sup>159</sup> To claim to know the ‘truth’ about history is a form of domination: history is pursued as a means to control and validate the present. Therefore, we need to consider and acknowledge the relationships that have existed throughout the past but have managed to remain undetected. We, therefore, have an obligation to question and rethink existing ideas and interpretations.<sup>160</sup>

### *Data Collection*

Gathering archival material is not as simple or apolitical as it may originally appear. I approached various individuals and institutions in order to collect material for my thesis. Throughout this process I stumbled upon various hurdles that slowed, diverted or obstructed my collection process. It is necessary to explain, briefly, some of the hurdles I encountered since they relate directly to issues of social justice.

The material at the National Archives was relatively easy to access due to the public nature of the archives. The files for the Department of Indian Affairs, otherwise known as RG-10, contained most of the microfilmed information that I collected during my visits. More specifically, much of my information was retrieved from the Red files (files for Eastern Canada) and the School files within the RG-10 collection. For the period I was interested in,

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<sup>157</sup> Fogelson (1989), 144.

<sup>158</sup> Sider and Smith (1997), 13, emphasis in original.

<sup>159</sup> Harootunian (1988), 113.

<sup>160</sup> A. R. Baker, “‘The Dead Don’t Answer Questionnaires’: Researching and Writing Historical Geography”, *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 21.2 (1997), 232.

I did not encounter any documents that were classified as restricted. Therefore, I was able to use all the relevant material I retrieved, which contained, predominantly, official correspondence relating to medical requisitions, construction and maintenance records and correspondence between government and church officials. The content of the majority of letters were in regard to requisitions made by Spanish administrators for materials (such as medical supplies or new appliances/furniture) or instructions from the department concerning the payment for the supplies. Letters between the Department of Indian Affairs and the various companies who provided the supplies were also included. Official correspondence conveyed very little explicit information, with the exception of deaths or illness and the records concerning the Boy Scout troop established in 1929, about the students.

At the time these documents were written they were intended to be private correspondences between the school and the Department of Indian Affairs. The overwhelming majority of the letters that I found were written by the principal of the boys' institution, who also acted as principal for Spanish, and various persons at the Department of Indian Affairs, such as the Purchasing Agent or the Deputy Superintendent General. The principal acted as a liaison between Ottawa and the girls' school and consequently, less information about the Daughters of the Heart of Mary is available.<sup>161</sup> Miller indicates that, particularly within the Catholic Church, gender relationships were hierarchical and authoritarian, which may have contributed to the absence of writing from the Daughters of the Heart of Mary and the emphasis on the boys' institution.<sup>162</sup> Nor did I find any records written by Aboriginal peoples. Thus, the information collected from the National Archives,

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<sup>161</sup> This is illustrated in various communications including medicinal requisitions made by the principals of the boys' school on behalf of the girls' institution. In my research I came across no correspondence addressed to or from representatives of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary.

<sup>162</sup> J. R. Miller (1996), 235.

contained no Aboriginal voices emanating from students, parents or communities. Only the voices of 'White' male officials are heard directly through the archival material, (making the primary sources currently being written by Aboriginal peoples who experienced residential schools that much more important).

The *Annual Reports for the Department of Indian Affairs*, which were prepared each year to summarize the various endeavours of the department, were also of great use. I was able to access these printed, public documents online via the National Library of Canada and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. These formal documents provide a very carefully thought-out overview of the school for each year from the principal's perspective. The *Annual Report* often included information such as the number of pupils attending the school, major accomplishments of the students, and a description of the school and what had been altered each year.

I also attempted to contact various departments within the Catholic Church that may have possessed information relating to Spanish. Although I will not go into detail regarding the various agencies that I contacted while attempting to access material preserved by the church I am going to explain some of the reactions that I received. Some people were very accommodating but unable to provide access, while others suggested that I find an alternative topic. Some agencies simply stated that their collection had been relocated or was inaccessible and provided me with alternative contact information while another agency would not return my phone calls or e-mails.

Eventually, I was given the name of a lawyer representing the Jesuits in their continued involvement in litigation over the residential schools and was told I would require his permission to use the files catalogued at the Jesuit Archives in Toronto. The lawyer very

diplomatically explained to me that this material was being used in litigation involving former residential school students and that he could not risk being accused of allowing someone to tamper with the evidence. I was denied access to this material, though with the assurance that the lawyer believes it should be fully accessible rather than completely restricted. The lawyer with whom I spoke provided me with the name of an historian who had recently finished a manuscript on the topic of Spanish Residential School and suggested that I contact him and obtain a copy of his manuscript. I owe much gratitude to Dr. David Shanahan, a free-lance historian and consultant, who very generously provided me with a copy of his unpublished manuscript, and allowed me to use pieces of data he had collected (at the Jesuit Archives) for his own project.<sup>163</sup> His project was completed at the request of the Jesuits and includes information from the inception of Spanish at Wikwemikong to its closure. Information that I gleaned from his manuscript and the notes that he gathered at the Jesuit Archives added another dimension to my thesis – a more candid (yet controlled) Jesuit voice. Without Dr. Shanahan's assistance I would not have been able to access any of the material from the Jesuit Archives in Toronto.

I must, however, acknowledge the caveats associated with the information I have accumulated. For example, contained in the Jesuit archives is a diary that was kept by the Jesuits who administered Spanish. However, the copy of the diary that I have is not the original, but is one that has been rewritten by other Jesuits – perhaps to translate it into English, perhaps to shorten a very lengthy document, or perhaps to exclude restricted information. The remaining excerpts may, therefore, have many gaps and silences. Nevertheless, due to restricted access, I am relying on an interpretation of the copied diaries

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<sup>163</sup> David Shanahan, *'More than mere talent': Native Residential Schools and the Jesuits, 1844-1959*, Manuscript submitted for publication, 2004.

as opposed to the original documents. I rely on these few files (that I have been lucky enough to access) throughout my thesis for their valuable insight, but I use them cautiously with the awareness that they have been altered from their original form.

Literature on Spanish Residential School is of particular importance to my thesis. A small number of sources currently focus specifically on Spanish Residential School (or Wikwemikong Industrial School). David Shanahan and Basil Johnston have both documented aspects of Spanish Residential School, each from their own perspective. Johnston's viewpoint as a former student, and Shanahan's as a scholar, complement each other, and have both been used extensively throughout my thesis.

Although Spanish included two schools (one for boys and the other for girls) Shanahan's book focuses on the Jesuits and the boys who attended the school. The rationale for this stems from the fact that it was the Jesuits who corresponded with the Department of Indian Affairs, kept a record of the daily events at the school, and shaped the overall situations and atmospheres of the school. The purpose of this book, according to Shanahan, is to reveal the relationships that existed between the students, the government and the religious personnel, with an emphasis on the dependence those running the school had on the Department of Indian Affairs.<sup>164</sup> Shanahan's account accomplishes this through the use of a variety of archival sources, including those of the Jesuits, and is enriched with interviews with former staff and students. Shanahan discusses many issues that could be considered exercises of power or resistance, although they may not necessarily be discussed as such within his piece.

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<sup>164</sup> Shanahan (2004), introduction.



Johnston recorded memories from 1939-44 and 1947-50 after reminiscing with old friends.<sup>165</sup> Johnston describes these experiences very thoroughly. Although published more than three decades after his attendance at Spanish, Johnston's work provides a student's perspective on the relationships that existed, and the events that took place, behind the walls of Spanish. This is the only primary source containing information about Spanish, from a student perspective, that I found. Johnston clearly illustrates the strategies used by the Jesuits to reshape and control the student population within Spanish and the variety of relationships that existed between the Jesuits and the students. The students' acts of resistance undertaken to fill time, escape the reigns of the priests/brothers, lessen the hardships they endured or amuse themselves are very prominent within Johnston's book. Johnston attended the school primarily during the 1940s, but his narrative elaborates on many themes that I found while exploring previous decades at Spanish. Consequently, his book serves both to contextualize, and to lend significance to, the pieces of information I have assembled. This is particularly true of the spirit of the students: it cannot be adequately captured by Jesuits, Government officials or others describing events at the school.

From the existing literature, correspondences, *Annual Reports* and information acquired from the Jesuit archives (courtesy of Dr. David Shanahan) I am interested in accessing information of a subordinate group via the discourse of the dominant. I, therefore, need to be able to recognize "in the familiar the buried outline of the different".<sup>166</sup> Gaining insight into the intentions and actions of the residential schools students will be difficult since the dominant group has created the available information and only had access to what the subordinate group allowed them to see. I used creativity and imagination when reading the

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<sup>165</sup> Basil Johnston, *Indian School Days* (Toronto, 1988), 11.

<sup>166</sup> Harootunian (1988), 124.

material and questioned how what has been recorded could be explained or interpreted differently.

Specifically, I looked for exercises of power and resistance. My understanding of how the exercise of power and resistance shaped the identities of the students' influenced the decisions of what materials to include in my thesis. I constantly looked for examples of how power was exercised through measures such as hierarchical observation, normalizing judgements and examination. I paid attention to contradictions in behaviour that were revealed and was continually aware that resistance would most likely be masked.

I would also like to acknowledge that my findings are partial not only because the material I accessed has been subjectively created/altered and because I have chosen a particular theoretical approach, but also because the information was advantageously extracted. I strategically chose information I believed to be the most relevant to my thesis and this meant excluding other information. Unfortunately, I did not have the time or space to include all of the information that I came across. Nor did I have the means to collect all of the information that may exist about Spanish. Therefore, my analysis is incomplete because I excluded information both intentionally and unintentionally. My representation of Spanish Residential School is by no means objective, complete or representative of all parties involved since I created a narrative of the past according to my own perspectives and with the very limited information to which I had access.

### CHAPTER 3: DISCIPLINARY POWER AND DAILY LIFE AT SPANISH

*“Bells and whistles, gongs and clappers represent everything connected with sound management – order, authority, discipline, efficiency, system, organization, schedule, regimentation, conformity, dependence, subservience, uniformity, docility, surrender. In the end it is the individual who must be made to conform, who must be made to bend to the will of another”*

*~ Johnston, Indian School Days (1988), 43 ~*

To explore some of the power relations at Spanish Residential School, I will focus on various aspects of the students' days to explain more fully how the school actually operated. To explain the situation at Spanish as fully as the sources will allow, the relocation of the school from Wikwemikong to Spanish, a major event in the school's history will be explored. The relationship between the Jesuits and the Department of Indian Affairs will also be discussed to help contextualize the situation at Spanish between 1878 and 1930. The ways in which the Jesuits used hierarchical observation, normalizing judgements, classification and examination along with the meticulous control over space and time will then be highlighted in order to demonstrate how disciplinary power operated at Spanish. This will be accomplished through discussions of behaviour, religion and morals, the daily routine, mealtimes, chores, class, leisure time, scouting and discipline. Each of these sections will contribute to a broader understanding of Spanish Residential School and how various efforts were made by the administrators to reshape the students.

#### Relocating from Wikwemikong to Spanish

A myriad of motives may have allowed school officials to justify the relocation of the schools at Wikwemikong to Spanish, Ontario. Conflicting opinions and interests caused tensions between church officials and the people of Wikwemikong to escalate in the years

preceding 1911.<sup>1</sup> This, in combination with the problems that developed at Spanish following a fire that destroyed much of girls' school, enabled the Jesuits to present a very strong case to the government for building new schools at Spanish.<sup>2</sup>

On February 5, 1911 a diary entry notes that the "girls' school at Wikwemikong burned to the ground".<sup>3</sup> Preparation to rebuild the school began on February 15 as rubble was removed and excavation for a new foundation began.<sup>4</sup> Twelve men had been hired for this purpose and on May 15 four men arrived from Montreal to assist. The following day work was stopped. According to one account, Joseph Bitawanakwad (an Aboriginal worker) had organized a strike, but another source indicates that the workers from Montreal were responsible for the strike.<sup>5</sup> In response to the work stoppage the Superior of the Girls' school stated that she would build elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> The Jesuit Provincial in Montreal ordered work to resume on June 7, but only three days later another telegram arrived from "F. Bellemare, the Procurator of the Province," containing instructions to cease all work.<sup>7</sup> On July 15, 1911, a final decision arrived from Montreal stating that the two schools at Wikwemikong would be relocated and Reverend Paquin, S.J., was to supervise all subsequent activities in this regard. This series of events prompted a search for suitable grounds upon which to relocate.

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<sup>1</sup> David Shanahan, *'More than mere talent': Native Residential Schools and the Jesuits, 1844-1959*, Manuscript submitted for publication, 2004, 58-59.

<sup>2</sup> Notes taken by Fr. Bill Maurice, S. J., between April 17-24, 1994, from the diaries of the Wikwemikong and Spanish Schools, 1911/1912, 1-2. Document obtained from the Jesuit Archives via David Shanahan (hereafter Notes taken by Fr. Bill Maurice, S. J., between April 17-24, 1994 from the diaries of the Wikwemikong and Spanish Schools will be referred to as Notes from School Diaries. Documents obtained from the Jesuit Archives via David Shanahan will be noted as DS).

<sup>3</sup> Diary excerpt, Box File 2, File 1, February 5, 1911, 50. (DS)

<sup>4</sup> Diary excerpt, Box File 2, File 1, February 15, 1911, 50. (DS)

<sup>5</sup> Synopsis of the History of Wikwemikong, Holy Cross Mission, May 16, 1911, 34. (DS) (Hereafter the synopsis of the History of Wikwemikong, Holy Cross Mission will be referred to as History of Wikwemikong); Shanahan (2004) indicates that the Diary for St. Peter Claver School offers a different interpretation from the History of Wikwemikong and states that workers from Montreal instigated the strike, 63.

<sup>6</sup> Diary excerpt, Box File 2, File 1. May 16, 1911, 50. (DS)

<sup>7</sup> Diary excerpt, Box File 2, File 1. June 7, 1911 & June 10, 1911, 51. (DS); Shanahan (2004), 62.

Although it may have acted as a catalyst or as a justification necessitating the move, the strike was not the sole reason for moving the two schools. The diaries at Wikwemikong indicate that other motives lay behind the desertion of Wikwemikong.<sup>8</sup> First, there was a claim that Wikwemikong was difficult to access in both the winter and the summer. Second, the diaries suggest that students who attended the school from other reserves were too far from their parents. Third, a school in a more neutral location, off reserve, would be better suited to reducing “interference from locals”.<sup>9</sup> Fourth, Wikwemikong did not offer sufficient space for a farm or playground. Finally, the diaries suggest that if the schools at Wikwemikong were ever to close it would be difficult to dispose of the buildings.<sup>10</sup> A letter addressed to J. D. McLean, the Assistant Deputy and Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, from Wikwemikong on August 28, 1911, provides additional justifications for moving the Wikwemikong Industrial School, some of which correspond with those recorded in the diaries. For example, he noted that Wikwemikong was difficult to access because the closest railroad station was 60 miles away and the closest regular steamer was 11 miles away. The letter also pointed to the cramped conditions of the institution along with the surrounding “hills, streets and Indian property”.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the Jesuit sources, the prominent justification given for moving the institution from Wikwemikong was to distance the students from their families and communities. Jesuits claimed that, “the Indians interfere too much with the management – are even jealous of the land we occupy with our farms and of the profits they think we realize

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<sup>8</sup> Notes from School Diaries, 1911, 2. (DS)

<sup>9</sup> Notes from School Diaries, 1911, 2. (DS)

<sup>10</sup> Notes from School Diaries, 1911, 2. (DS)

<sup>11</sup> Reverend J. Paquin, S.J. to J. D. McLean. August 28, 1911. Wikwemikong. National Archives of Canada RG-10, Reel C-7945, Volume 6217, File 471-1, part 1. (Hereafter, the National Archives of Canada will be abbreviated as NAC)

from the Industrial School".<sup>12</sup> Removing the students to a location farther from home enabled the Jesuits to remove the children from the influence of families and communities and then to heighten their own influence and control over the pupils. Once the institution was no longer on a reserve, the Jesuits would cease to be accountable to a surrounding community on a daily basis and would then be free to run the school without interference from parents. This was a move that would serve to contain the students within one location, regulate their activities, and bring the students under closer surveillance. The relocation, then, was essential to the exertion of continual disciplinary power.<sup>13</sup>

In August of 1911 Fathers Paquin and Desautels set out to find a suitable location for the new institutions and eventually selected the Lapoint farm at the mouth of the Spanish River, which Father LeCompte, Provincial, approved on September 8, 1911.<sup>14</sup> The fact that a farm was chosen as the new location for the school is significant. Not only was there ample space for buildings, but also for farming, which would provide food for the school, and, potentially, extra income. The farm would also provide enough space for various trades to be practiced, which was particularly important for the older boys, who were expected to continue practicing the trades upon graduation. After numerous inquiries, the Department of Indian Affairs finally consented to the move to the mainland on September 31, 1911 and Reverend Paquin accepted the terms of approval soon after.<sup>15</sup> In July and August of 1913

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<sup>12</sup> Reverend J. Paquin, S.J. to J. D. McLean, August 28, 1911. Wikwemikong. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7945, Volume 6217, File 471-1, part 1.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of enframing see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley, 2000), 34-35.

<sup>14</sup> Notes from School Diaries, August 1911 & September 5, 1911, 2. (DS)

<sup>15</sup> Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., to J. D. McLean. October 2, 1922. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7945, Volume 6217, File 471-1, part 1. The submission of plans for the new location and proposed buildings for departmental acceptance and the continued maintenance of a day school at Wikwemikong were the conditions of approval. The Jesuits requested that their current contract be renewed indefinitely, but this was denied by the government. J. D. McLean to Reverend J. Paquin, S.J. September 30, 1911. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7945, Volume 6217, File 471-1, part 1.

both the boys' and girls' schools were transferred to Spanish, with furniture following in early September.<sup>16</sup> The girls' school, however, was not complete at this time and other accommodations were rented within the vicinity to provide them with lodgings.<sup>17</sup> The girls' portions of the institution were finally completely ready for use in March of 1914.

While a new location provided more space for a playground and farm, many students would remain, or be even further, distanced from their families. Prior to granting permission to relocate the Wikwemikong Industrial School the Indian Affairs Department prepared a list reflecting the reserves from which the students were recruited to assist the decision making process. According to the list of reserves from which students were drawn, Wikwemikong provided only one third of the students attending in 1911. The number of students from each community attending Wikwemikong in 1911 was as follows (see Figure 6.1 for locations):

**Table 6.1: Number of Students Recruited From Each Community, 1911<sup>18</sup>**

Wikwemikong .....	43	Sagamok .....	5	Byng Inlet.....	2
Caughnawaga.....	31	Thessalon .....	1	Wahn [Wahnapipei]....	2
Buswa [Buzwah].....	6	Garden River .....	13	Cockburn .....	1
Parry Sound.....	3	Spanish River .....	2	West Bay.....	2
Serpent River .....	2	Birch Island .....	1	Sucker Creek.....	2
Whitefish River.....	4	South Bay .....	4	Michipicoten.....	1
Sheshegwaning.....	3	Henvey Inlet .....	2	Sheguiandah.....	1

Table 6.2 reveals that after the school moved to Spanish the school drew students from an even wider range (see figure 6.1 for locations).

<sup>16</sup> Notes from School Diaries, July 23, 1913 & August 9, 1913, 2. (DS); History of Wikwemikong, July 22, 1913, 35. (DS)

<sup>17</sup> Reverend L. Dugas, S.J. to Department of Indian Affairs Secretary. July 11, 1913. Wikwemikong. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7945, Volume 6217, File 471-1, part 1. (Hereafter Department of Indian Affairs will be abbreviated DIA)

<sup>18</sup> Duncan Campbell Scott to Frank Pedley. September 14, 1911. Wikwemikong. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7945, Volume 6217, File 471-1, part 1.

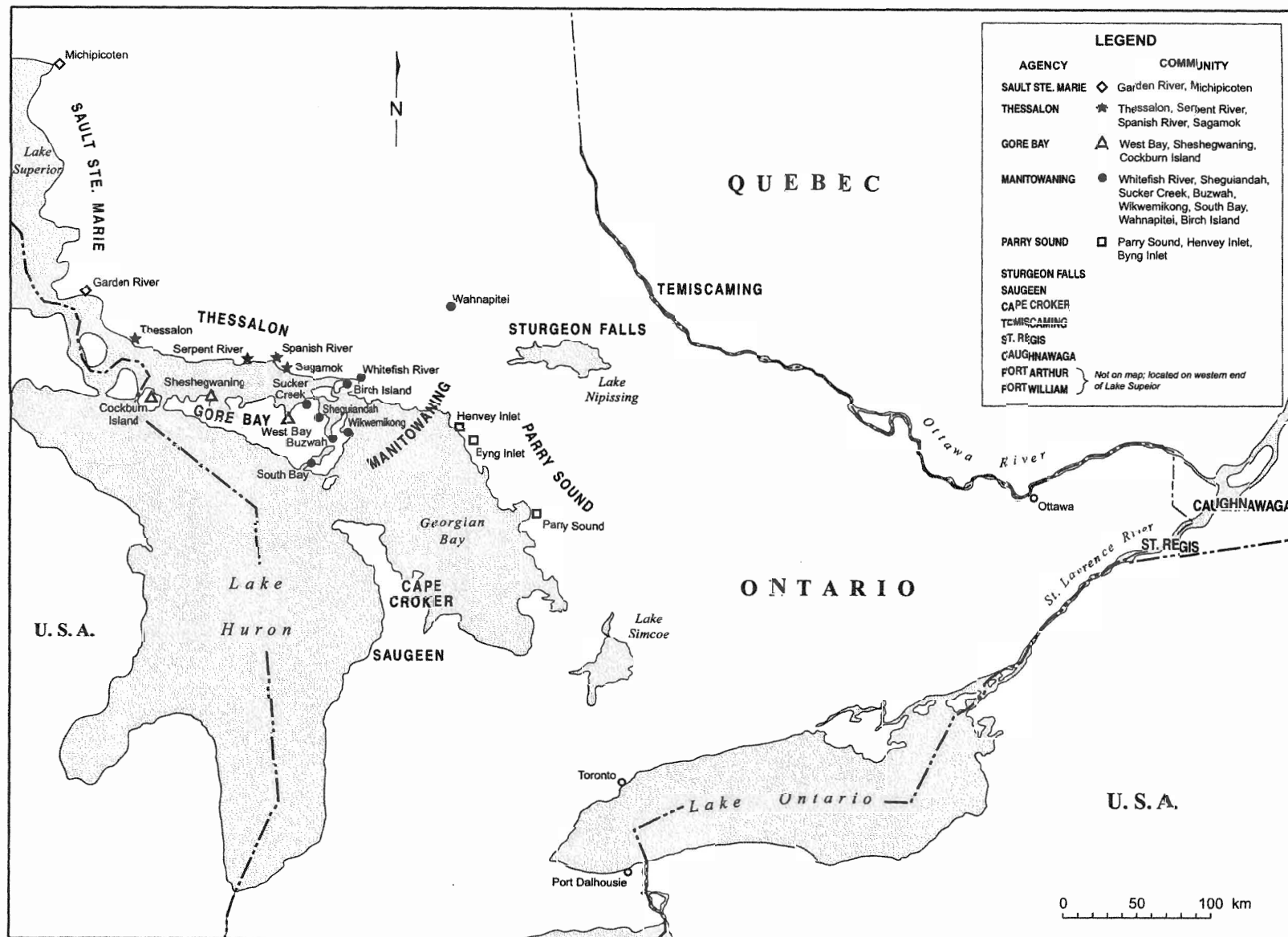


Figure 6.1: Areas from which students were recruited



Relocating the Wikwemikong institution to Spanish, which served to isolate the students and diminish family and community influences, increased the students' reliance on the school and its staff and created a space in which students were more likely to conform to

**Table 6.2: Agencies from which Students were Recruited, 1910-1916**

Year	School Location	Total Students on Roll	Average Daily Attendance	Student Origins												
				Cape Croker agency	Caughnawaga Agency	Fort William Agency	Gore Bay Agency	Manitowaning Agency	Parry Sound Agency	Port Arthur Agency	Saugeen Agency	Sault Ste. Marie Agency	St. Regis Agency	Sturgeon Falls Agency	Thessalon Agency	Timiskaming Agency
1910	Wikwemikong	142	135		32		9	58		2		10			5	
1911	Wikwemikong	159	142		31		?	42	2			14			1	
1912	Wikwemikong	147	140		39		6	56	4			14			11	
1913	Wikwemikong	154	147		72		6	59	2			13			13	
1914	Spanish	200	133		42			147	2			8	10		32	
1915	Spanish	197	166	5	52	1		33	4			15	8		193*	
1916	Spanish	202	161	10	41	1	4	27	11		3	26	14	3	22	3

\*Although found within the annual report of 1914, this is most likely not the correct figure. The report states that there are a total of 96 school-aged students within this agency, 72 of whom are enrolled in a day school. The number of students attending Spanish from this agency is most likely closer to 24.

This information has been compiled from the Indian Affairs Annual Reports (1910-1916). The discrepancies within the reports are reflected within this chart.

the desired behaviours and norms. How this was accomplished will be explored more fully in the following sections outlining various aspects of students' days and the rules, regulations and expectations by which they were expected to abide.

### The Relationship Between The Department of Indian Affairs and the Jesuits

The partnership between the Jesuits and the Department of Indian Affairs is the central focus of this thesis since the overwhelming majority of communications flowed between the principal of the institution (who was always the head figure of the boys' school)

and the Department of Indian Affairs. The goals of the Jesuits at Spanish differed somewhat from those of the government. The Jesuits' primary concern at Spanish was with the spiritual education of their students.<sup>19</sup> With the relocation of the school the Jesuits had hoped to find themselves less dependent upon the government, but instead found themselves more constrained by imposed academic standards, school inspectors, and especially the much needed financial support.<sup>20</sup> While the Jesuits accommodated many of the government stipulations, their primary concern remained spirituality.<sup>21</sup>

To understand the circumstances that existed between the walls of the Spanish institutions necessitates delving into the conditions of the partnership between the Jesuits and the bureaucrats in Ottawa. The assistance provided by the government to the Jesuits for the purpose of maintaining the schools at Spanish hinged on regular inspections of the institution and compliance with numerous government stipulations. The Department of Indian Affairs regulated the number of pupils permitted within the institution along with the minimum and maximum ages of those students. School staff, required to speak and write English fluently, were also subject to approval by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. The Superintendent General's opinion regarding the number of staff and hiring was to be sought at all times. For example, when Reverend Desautels, S.J., resigned as principal at Spanish he recommended 'to the approval of the Department' his successor, Reverend Victor Gravel, S.J.. The Department of Indian Affairs, however, also had to accept Gravel as the new Principal of Spanish Residential School.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Shanahan (2004), 233.

<sup>20</sup> Shanahan (2004), 235.

<sup>21</sup> Shanahan (2004), 235.

<sup>22</sup> Reverend T. A. Desautels, S.J., to DIA Secretary. May 14, 1919. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel 7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1, part 1.

The government provided funding based on the number of pupils attending the institution, the state of repair of the buildings, the type of institution, and the division in which the school resided.<sup>23</sup> Funding at Spanish, however, was minimal, based on the average attendance at the school, and the schools remained accountable for much of their own financing. The Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary were responsible for the management and upkeep of the school grounds and buildings, but with the understanding that all alterations or renovations were subject to the approval of the Superintendent General. This was yet another means of regulating the activities of the church personnel.

Each school was required to provide food, clothing, accommodation, books, and all other necessary appliances and/or equipment for their students. However, their inability to provide all of these items at all times meant that schools depended on additional government assistance. For example, the government subsidized the installation of electric lighting in 1926, and, after lengthy correspondence, agreed to assist the school install a new heating system.<sup>24</sup> In other documents the school requested that the government supply eight sewing machines and a typewriter. Another request was for instruments for a band (since this activity had been successful at other residential schools) and a dozen footballs, baseball equipment, two punching bags and tennis outfits for the girls.<sup>25</sup> The government, however, did not necessarily grant every request. In response to the previous requests, five sewing

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<sup>23</sup> The Divisions include the Northern Division, the Eastern Division and the Western Division. The Northern division is assumed to require the most assistance to maintain the schools (most are located 200 or more miles from the railway) while the Eastern division is assumed to require less funding than the Western division. Spanish Residential School falls under the Eastern Division. To establish which schools belonged to each division see The Correspondence and Agreement Relating to The Maintenance and Management of Indian Boarding Schools, 1911, Ottawa, NAC RG-10, Reel C-8152, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1.

<sup>24</sup> Duncan Campbell Scott to Charles Stewart. January 22, 1926. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1; Duncan Campbell Scott to Reverend Chas. Belanger, S.J. April 19, 1927. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1.

<sup>25</sup> Reverend J.B. Sauve, S.J. to DIA. October 22, 1923. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1; Reverend J.B. Sauve, S.J. to DIA Secretary. April 28, 1924. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1.

machines were provided, one typewriter, two volleyball sets and six footballs.<sup>26</sup> Note that the volleyball sets were not requested and no instruments, punching bags, baseball equipment or tennis outfits were provided. The decisions emanating from the Department of Indian Affairs relating to what items were to be provided may have been influenced by financial restrictions or by a view that the government knew better than the school administration concerning what activities and materials were required at the schools.

Medical care was also the responsibility of the Spanish staff. Drug requisitions were to be approved by the department, who paid for the majority of supplies. Each medical requisition was sent to a druggist to be filled via the Department of Indian Affairs, enabling the Department to keep a close eye on both the cost and content of the orders. At times the department questioned the necessity, or quantity, of items being ordered, or refused to supply them, without being fully aware of why the item was required or its intended use. In September of 1915, for example, the government "disallowed the request for alcohol, seidlitz powders and rock candy."<sup>27</sup> In response to the refusal, because the alcohol was being "used in a little Stove in the children's Infirmary at night", the school proposed that the department "kindly furnish us with an Electric Disk Stove, Domestic Style, for 60 Volts" instead.<sup>28</sup> The department inquired if the School could operate a 110 Volt stove, which it could not, so the

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<sup>26</sup> J. D. McLean to Reverend J.B. Sauve, S.J. October 29, 1923. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1; Russell Ferrier to Duncan Campbell Scott. November 3, 1925. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1; J.D. McLean to Reverend J.B. Sauve, S.J. April 30, 1924. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1.

<sup>27</sup> J. D. McLean to Reverend L. Dugas, S.J. September 22, 1915. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1. Seidlitz powders, dissolved in water, were a common remedy for eating too much or constipation. Peter Homan, "Seidlitz - The Morning-After Powder", *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, 267. 7179 (22-29 December 2001), Available: <http://www.pharmj.com/SearchFrame.html>.

<sup>28</sup> Unknown author, recipient and date. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

order for a stove was cancelled.<sup>29</sup> There is no indication of what was used in the infirmary after these requests were turned down.

Often the infirmarian, a qualified Jesuit, was requested to alter, or justify, the original medical requisition prior to the Department having it filled by the drug company of their choice. In one instance, the infirmarian at Spanish was asked to justify why his order for the girls' school was so large.<sup>30</sup> The infirmarian, indicating his years of experience, seems to have been insulted that the government would question his authority on the matter. He responded:

the requisition will in all probability last well until the fall, it is far cheaper to buy drugs when possible in large quantity. In the order sent for the girls' school I have well considered all questions of deterioration and beg to state that there is nothing of that nature in the order. I have over 20 years experience in medicine and surgery and you can rely on my studying strict economy on this behalf as chief infirmarian to these schools.<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, in 1916 a medical requisition for the boys' school was thought by the Department to be excessive. At this time, bypassing the school infirmarian, the list was sent, along with the average number of students attending Spanish, to the "Chief Medical Office for Indians", by whom the order would be inspected and altered, if deemed necessary.<sup>32</sup> The list was returned to the department with approximately half of the requested items stroked off, or deemed superfluous.<sup>33</sup> It is worth noting that the "Chief Medical Office for Indians" was located in Winnipeg. It must have been rather difficult to judge what the conditions or requirements were at Spanish from such a distance having only the average number or pupils

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<sup>29</sup> Reverend T. A. Desautels, S.J., to Martin Benson. Oct. 11, 1918. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>30</sup> J. D. McLean to Reverend L. Dugas, S.J. April 8, 1915. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>31</sup> Reverend L. Dugas, S.J. to J. D. McLean. April 19, 1915. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>32</sup> DIA to C. I. Grain. March 17, 1916. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>33</sup> J. D. McLean to Beatty. April 20, 1916. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

as a guideline. However, the government persisted in wanting to be informed about, and having final say over, all medical affairs, leaving little to the discretion of the Jesuits.

The monitoring of the medical requisitions demonstrates the continual and intense eye the Department of Indian Affairs kept on Spanish. The infirmarian's response to the continual justifications suggests that the Jesuits may have resented having to 'check in' with the Department whenever they required necessary items such as medical supplies. Although the department was only supplying a minimal amount of money to the institutions it continued to oversee almost all activities at the schools. The Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary, therefore, were not completely free to run the institution the way they saw fit.

Indian Agents and Inspectors often visited the schools to determine the adequacy of the institution, the teachers, and the progress of the students. Most reports noted student improvement at the schools, possible problems, and the upkeep of the buildings. In 1885 "an unfavourable report given by the inspector on the performance of the teachers at the schools" may have been a cause of concern.<sup>34</sup> On another occasion the inspector pointed out that there was no fire escape at the girls' school at Spanish, which resulted in one being installed at the expense of the Department.<sup>35</sup> The inspections were not always routine or announced ahead of time. In fact, intermittent surprise inspections were carried out to examine the "efficiency of the system of tuition" at the schools.<sup>36</sup>

#### Religion, Morals and Proper Behaviour

Students attending Spanish Residential School were to be moulded to comply with a standard held by the Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary. There was constant

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<sup>34</sup> History of Wikwemikong, January 15, 1885, 23. (DS)

<sup>35</sup> J. M. Bennett. Inspection of Spanish. Unknown date. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Volume 6218, Reel C-7946, File 471-5 part 1.

<sup>36</sup> Notes on Schools in S. Hagan's Agency. Unknown date/author. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

pressure to conform to the standard, which was legitimized by authority figures such as priests and nuns and perhaps even the other children. Reverend Du Ranquet, S.J., observed that as new children arrived at the school at the beginning of each year they were “a little surprised and bewildered to find themselves under school discipline and restrictions to which they were not used; but they soon fell into the ranks.”<sup>37</sup>

Religious activities were a staple at Spanish, which is not surprising, considering representatives of the Catholic Church administered both schools. Reverend Baudin, S.J., noted the importance of religious activities at the school and commented that the main purpose of the institution was “the forming of religious men fit for the everlasting ends of our existence”.<sup>38</sup> The process of conversion required compliance and obedience.<sup>39</sup> However, Johnston noted that while the school attempted to encourage religious vocations, “all the prayers, masses, novenas and benedictions could not overcome the natural resistance of most boys to a career in holy orders”.<sup>40</sup> Individualization was an important process in the staff’s efforts to look after the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of subjects.<sup>41</sup> For example, the frequent confession of sins allowed the staff to know each of their subjects in detail.<sup>42</sup>

Religious activities, and their frequency, varied from year to year but were considered, by some instructors, to be the most important part of the students’ education and great efforts were made to ensure that the students never dissociated their activities (whether

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<sup>37</sup> Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1889, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 19-20. Reproduced from the National Library of Canada’s website ([www.nlc-bnc.ca](http://www.nlc-bnc.ca)). (Hereafter the Indian Affairs Annual Report will be abbreviated as IAAR. All subsequent Annual Reports were also reproduced from the National Library of Canada’s website ([www.nlc-bnc.ca](http://www.nlc-bnc.ca)).)

<sup>38</sup> IAAR, 1905, Wikwemikong, Reverend A. Baudin, S.J., 288.

<sup>39</sup> Brett Christophers, *Positioning the missionary: John Booth Good and the Confluence of Cultures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1998), 99.

<sup>40</sup> Basil Johnston, *Indian School Days* (Toronto, 1988), 27.

<sup>41</sup> For a more detailed explanation of pastoral power see John Ransom, *Foucault’s Discipline: The Politics of Subjectivity* (London, 1997), 64-72.

<sup>42</sup> Johnston (1988), 54-55; Christophers (1998), 96-97.

scholarly or industrial) from the religious views being taught.<sup>43</sup> Religious activities incorporated into the daily routine included mass, reciting the rosary and memorizing a catechism lesson. While located at Wikwemikong, the students attended all of the services at the parish church and received additional religious and moral instruction.<sup>44</sup> In 1924 the school diary notes that boys were required to “say the rosary each day – part at Mass – part at night”.<sup>45</sup> Religion was also incorporated into the classroom through the daily memorization of a lesson of catechism or Bible history, which was accompanied by an explanation “several times a week”, that was adapted to the level of each class.<sup>46</sup> These activities suggest that substantial attention was given to drill and rote memorization of religious material.<sup>47</sup> However, to ensure that students were attentive and receptive at Mass, the older boys and girls were required to write a report on one of the sermons they had heard each Sunday.<sup>48</sup>

All special religious occasions were observed at the school. For example, in June of 1926 the Bishop was present for the confirmation of 45 boys.<sup>49</sup> Special Christian holidays such as Easter and Christmas were marked with gifts, music and concerts.<sup>50</sup> At Easter of 1928 a relative of one of the Jesuits donated Easter eggs to the school while in 1929 each boy was given “100 marbles”, peanuts and candy.<sup>51</sup> The continual attention to religion served not only to widen the students religious knowledge by forcing them to practice Catholicism, but

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<sup>43</sup> IAAR, 1903, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 332; IAAR, 1905, Wikwemikong, Reverend A. Baudin, S.J., 288.

<sup>44</sup> IAAR, 1903, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 332; IAAR, 1897, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 231

<sup>45</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 17, 1924, 4. (DS)

<sup>46</sup> IAAR, 1906, Reverend Th. Couture, S.J., Wikwemikong, 326.

<sup>47</sup> According to Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto, 1997), 57, rote memorization was actually a common pedagogy during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in many Canadian schools.

<sup>48</sup> IAAR, 1906, Reverend Th. Couture, S.J., Wikwemikong, 327. This was also noted in the IAAR of 1907, 1908 & 1909 (however, during the latter two years, there was only one sermon rather than two on Sundays).

<sup>49</sup> Notes from School Diaries, June 16, 1926, 4. (DS)

<sup>50</sup> J. S. Milloy, *“A National Crime”: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, 1999), indicates that ‘the rituals of European culture’ were to imprint on the students and encourage them to continue marking each of these occasions appropriately upon leaving the residential schools, 36.

<sup>51</sup> Notes from School Diaries, Easter 1928, 4. (DS); Notes from School Diaries, March 31, 1929, 5. (DS)



also was part of their daily routine – a form of repetition – that would, ideally, socialize them into becoming Christians and encourage them to continue with these practices once they graduated from the school.<sup>52</sup>

Religion and morals were often discussed in concert by the principals, suggesting that, at Spanish Residential School, morality was associated with piety. The emphasis on morality was not limited to Spanish, but could be viewed as part of the efforts of elites in Canadian society to “reshape the ethical subjectivity of both immigrants and Native born Canadians” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>53</sup> More specifically, many Euro-Canadian people believed Aboriginal peoples to be morally inferior.<sup>54</sup> As a result both the Jesuits and the Daughters of Mary considered moral training to be necessary at the school and “in both homes constant endeavours are made to bring the children up on lessons of obedience, respect, truthfulness and piety”.<sup>55</sup> The *Annual Report* of 1891 notes that the efforts of all staff at the school were directed towards the students’ “moral training” and that the school staff did not labour in vain:

Edifying, indeed, has been the general behaviour of the pupils in both departments, boys and girls, and very encouraging the eagerness with which they availed themselves for the opportunities procured for them for the thorough understanding of the teaching of the Church, and of the obligations imposed upon them.<sup>56</sup>

The inclusion of a separate section in the various *Annual Reports* dedicated to describing the efforts being made to improve the morals of students, often via religion, further highlights the importance of redefining the students’ morality at Spanish.

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<sup>52</sup> Milloy (1999), 36.

<sup>53</sup> Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto, 1991), 17.

<sup>54</sup> J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, 1996), 185.

<sup>55</sup> IAAR, 1890, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 17.

<sup>56</sup> IAAR, 1891, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 19.

Sexual morality was an important aspect of the social purity movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and residential schools in Canada followed Victorian ideas of gender.<sup>57</sup> As a result the segregation of students by gender into two separate institutions to keep contact between boys and girls to a minimum may be attributed to concern over this issue.<sup>58</sup> Reverend Artus, S.J., stated that “the boys and girls are educated in two separate institutions about two hundred yards apart, which are managed by two separate staffs of men and women respectively, under the common superintendence of the principal”.<sup>59</sup> According to Basil Johnston’s experiences, boys and girls were not usually permitted to mingle and only saw each other during chapel, and then, only from opposite sides of the room.<sup>60</sup> While the documents used for this thesis did not explicitly state the rationale for this separation, Miller concludes that extreme measures were taken to separate and protect boys and girls within residential schools due to fears of uninhibited sexual activity.<sup>61</sup> Moral reformers in this period believed that Aboriginal peoples were very promiscuous.<sup>62</sup> Females, particularly, were warned of the dangers of promiscuity and were more heavily obligated “than males to be modest in dress, chaste in behaviour and free of pregnancy”.<sup>63</sup> The Jesuits certainly subscribed to these views. While the school was at Wikwemikong the diary notes that the congregation on the reserve was “reproached for the large number of illegitimate births,” indicating that sexual relations were not always

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<sup>57</sup> Valverde (1991), 19; Miller (1996), 218-219.

<sup>58</sup> IAAR, 1902, Reverend G. A. Artus, S.J., Wikwemikong, 298.

<sup>59</sup> IAAR, 1898, Reverend G. A. Artus, S.J., Wikwemikong, 263-264.

<sup>60</sup> Johnston (1988), 58.

<sup>61</sup> Miller (1996), 235.

<sup>62</sup> Miller (1996), 234; Valverde (1991), 32; Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls*. (Toronto, 1999), 60-71.

<sup>63</sup> Miller (1996), 235.

practiced inside the institution of marriage. Such behaviour was obviously not acceptable in the eyes of the Church.<sup>64</sup>

Records indicate that some members of the church believed that schooling may have lessened this problem. The *Annual Report* of 1884 discussed the various abilities and good behaviour former students acquired. However, of particular interest is an example used to illustrate that former students retained the virtues they had gained at the school:

One example, will confirm my statement. Not long ago one former pupil of the institution, an orphan of about 18 years of age, was rudely assaulted by a ruffian. She not only despised the proffered sale of her honour, but she actually had a serious hand to hand scuffle, in which she stood her ground until her screams called somebody to her help.<sup>65</sup>

Reverend Baudin, S.J., thought it important to emphasize that the young woman who very courageously defended her virtue was a former student. Another indication that teachers believed the school influenced student behaviour appeared in a 1914 report that stated, “it is noticeable that education has a refining effect on those families whose children attend school”.<sup>66</sup>

Through religious and moral training the staff at Spanish were attempting to shape the behaviour and ideals of children to what was considered by the staff to be a higher standard. The Jesuits spoke favourably of students if their behaviour conformed to the clergy’s definition of morality and the school staff displayed their delight at what they considered to be positive results in response to their efforts. The students who made “notable progress” (“nearly all of them”) demonstrated their abilities through “habits” and “more civilized ideas” that were inculcated on a daily basis.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Diary excerpt, Box File 2, File 1, January 7, 1912, 51, emphasis in original. (DS)

<sup>65</sup> IAAR, 1884, Reverend A. Baudin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 22.

<sup>66</sup> IAAR, 1914, unknown author, Spanish, 144.

<sup>67</sup> IAAR, 1890, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 17.

The “arduous task” undertaken by the Jesuits was to mould their students into moral, intellectual, obedient and pious beings with “habits of diligent industry”.<sup>68</sup> A clear distinction was made between good and bad, right and wrong, civilized and uncivilized. The trades taught to the student, for example, may indicate that certain occupations and ways of life were preferred vocations. In 1894, conduct demonstrated “marked improvement” as the school year progressed and students became accustomed to their new schedule, duties and the behaviour expected of them.<sup>69</sup> Reverend Du Ranquet, S.J., applauded the students’ docility, good humour and “contentedness. ... Their readiness to comply with whatever task was imposed upon them was rejoicing indeed”.<sup>70</sup> Unquestioned obedience was a necessity at Spanish to inculcate the desired behaviours in the impressionable minds of youth. The assumption that all of these traits had to be taught to the children suggests that other places, such as their homes, were devoid of such instruction.

To monitor student activities, “a weekly report on every pupil from all the officers of the institution, made public and sanctioned by rewards or reprimands” was used to encourage morals and orderly behaviour.<sup>71</sup> Students who obtained a favourable report may have been rewarded, while those who were given an unfavourable report were reprimanded. Some students may have been humiliated when the report was made public. These reports could have been a means of both ranking and illuminating the gaps between the students. The ranking of students could also serve as reward and/or punishment.<sup>72</sup> This gave students the opportunity to compare themselves and make a note of the behaviours that were reported favourably. Students could then alter their behaviour to bring their own conduct closer to the

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<sup>68</sup> IAAR, 1882, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 229.

<sup>69</sup> IAAR, 1894, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 20.

<sup>70</sup> IAAR, 1894, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 20-21.

<sup>71</sup> IAAR, 1904, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 310.

<sup>72</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York, 1977), 181.

desired standard. Finally, weekly reports enabled the school administration to view each student's progress and gauge how well each student had conformed to the qualities considered necessary by school administration.<sup>73</sup>

According to their teachers, students were not only improving throughout the school year, but also as the years passed. Reverend Paquin, S.J., suggested this when he wrote that, "our present pupils appreciate more their training and rise to a higher level than our former ones. They take more interest in reading, both books and newspapers, and develop to a certain extent an intellectual life".<sup>74</sup> Students, then, were supposedly becoming more appreciative of what was being taught at Spanish, according to this principal. If his assessment that the students were showing an honest interest in reading books and newspapers, becoming more intellectual and exhibiting docility and a readiness to conform was accurate, the students may have been internalizing the values being taught at the institution (or at least acting as though they were taking the traits to heart to please those wielding power or to avoid punishment).

Often, the *Annual Reports* indicated that an emphasis was placed on speaking English rather than traditional languages. To do otherwise was a punishable offence. Fluency in English would facilitate entry into mainstream society but could also cause a gulf between the children and other family members who did not speak English, hence distancing the children even further from their culture. However, contradictory statements concerning language can be found in surviving documents describing Spanish. Prior to 1905 the Diary at Wikwemikong had been kept in Ojibway for some time.<sup>75</sup> However, the *Annual Report* of 1898 indicates that "English alone is allowed in the school, and most of the older pupils

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<sup>73</sup> Concept from Foucault (1977), 187.

<sup>74</sup> IAAR, 1904, J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 310.

<sup>75</sup> Shanahan (2004), 237.

“speak it quite fluently”.<sup>76</sup> In 1907 diaries indicate that while some children were taught religion in English, others, such as the Iroquois and Ojibway children, were taught in their respective languages.<sup>77</sup> To illustrate this further, at Christmas in 1916 “hymns were in both Indian and English” and in 1929 evening prayers were said in “Indian” while English was used in Study Hall.<sup>78</sup> The *Annual Reports*, in particular, always commended the children for their advancement in the English language, specifically the girls, who seemed to be more fluent than the boys.<sup>79</sup> The *Annual Reports* also frequently noted the students’ “pleasing English accents” and “remarkably pure English”.<sup>80</sup> Such reports, however, must be read with caution since the Jesuits had a vested interest in providing positive reports to the government.

Despite contradictory reports, the Jesuits established measures to encourage the use of English, particularly within recreational activities. English, for example, was mandatory if one desired to participate in amusements and games during recreation time.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, as Reverend Du Ranquet, S.J., wrote, “to give them new zest it was decided that whosoever should be convicted by his comrades of having used an Indian word would be excluded from the society of the players”.<sup>82</sup> Exploiting the students’ desires to participate in recreational activities and to avoid being singled out for not conforming, the staff tried to force the children to speak English. This policy also indicates that in addition to staff members monitoring student activities, children were encouraged to report on those who neglected to speak English. This was yet another form of surveillance used by the Jesuits to monitor the children’s actions even if they were not able to do so directly. The policy may have served to

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<sup>76</sup> IAAR, 1898, Reverend G.A. Artus, S.J., Wikwemikong, 265.

<sup>77</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 1907, 1. (DS)

<sup>78</sup> Notes from School Diaries, 1916/1917, 3. (DS); Notes from School Diaries, September 14, 1929, 6. (DS).

<sup>79</sup> For example, see IAAR, 1891, D. Du Ranquet, Wikwemikong, 20; IAAR, 1892, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 22.

<sup>80</sup> IAAR, 1889, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 20.

<sup>81</sup> IAAR, 1893, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 18.

<sup>82</sup> IAAR, 1894, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 21.

make the students more suspicious of each other, perhaps making other acts of resistance even more private.

The discrepancy between the depiction of students' behaviour in official reports sent to Ottawa and what is recorded in the Jesuit diaries may indicate a chasm between what the Department required and what the Jesuits desired. Jesuits, traditionally, were encouraged to learn and use Aboriginal languages.<sup>83</sup> Allowing the use of Aboriginal languages and going so far as to teach classes or recite sermons or prayers in these languages may have been a tool for the Jesuits to reach the children. A number of Jesuits associated with Spanish went to great lengths to learn and to document Aboriginal languages, although their numbers dwindled as the years passed.<sup>84</sup> For example, Reverend Desautels, S.J., created a collection of hymns and prayers in Ojibway, but was also fluent in Cree and Algonquin.<sup>85</sup> Shanahan suggests that the Jesuits, increasingly constrained by government policies, blamed the Department of Indian Affairs for the practice aimed at punishing students for the use of Aboriginal languages.<sup>86</sup> The use of Aboriginal languages permitted, at times, by the Jesuits at Spanish suggests that the Jesuits may not have always conformed to Departmental expectations or desires.

### The Daily Routine

Through the daily routine students were trained to be obedient, pious, moral and disciplined. Through the removal of individuality, task repetition, perpetual surveillance, and the meticulous regulation of time and space students were made to conform to the rules and regulations of the institution. The daily routine at Spanish necessitated that students adhered

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<sup>83</sup> Shanahan (2004), 230.

<sup>84</sup> Shanahan (2004), 238 & 246-247.

<sup>85</sup> Shanahan (2004), 246.

<sup>86</sup> Shanahan (2004), 250.

to a strict timetable, carried out tasks in appropriate spaces, and were always under the careful supervision of school staff.

One Indian Agent who visited Spanish commended the staff for not permitting the children to remain at one activity for an extended period of time, or until they were bored. He wrote: “they change them after a certain time at each branch of the work and the children enjoy that. They think it is just like play”.<sup>87</sup> The daily schedule at Spanish Residential School meticulously regulated the actions of the students. The sound of bells dictated where they had to be and when they needed to be there. Although the daily routine was altered over the years, it was never drastically modified. Table 6.3 has been pieced together from information in the 1899 *Annual Report*. Although, the timetable from earlier years at Spanish is not extremely detailed, Basil Johnston described a typical day at Spanish associating specific times with certain locations and often very precise actions that needed to be carried out, in order, by all (see Table 6.4).<sup>88</sup> Dividing the day into such a schedule is a means of breaking life “into a series of discrete functions”, each attached to a certain location, and implemented to attain order.<sup>89</sup>

A floor plan of the boys’ school indicates that each room was designated for particular uses and for particular people (see Figure 6.2). Perhaps indicating the importance of religion within the school, the chapel spanned two floors. There were separate eating areas for younger boys, older boys, religious personnel and lay people. Younger boys, older boys, prefects and Fathers were even assigned separate washroom and sleeping facilities (although dorm prefects were always close to boys’ sleeping quarters). Office space was also

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<sup>87</sup> Report given by Mr. McNabag, Indian Agent, cited in Notes from School Diaries, December 1915, 3. (DS)

<sup>88</sup> Johnston (1988), 28-47.

<sup>89</sup> Mitchell (2000), 45.



**Table 6.3: The Daily Schedule at Spanish, circa 1899<sup>90</sup>**

Time	Activity
Rise moved from 4:00am to 4:30am in 1885 and by 1908 was approximately 5:25	Rise, Mass, Breakfast
7-9	Work/Chores
9-10	Older boys continue work, go to class at 10
9-11:30	Class
11:30-1:30	Dinner, free time*
1:30-4:30	Class
3:30-6	Older boys work
4:30-6	Work/chores
6-7	Supper?
7-8	Study (religious instruction, reading or letter writing)
8-?	Free time until bed*

\* 2 hours of free time were given throughout the day, however it is not stated when, times indicated are only possibilities

provided for various members of the staff according to their position within the school indicating a hierarchy among school administration. Distinctions were clearly made, according to these plans, regarding who was permitted access to specific areas of the school and what activities were expected within each room.

Furthermore, at no point during the day were the boys left alone or permitted to amuse themselves. Each task was meticulously scheduled, timed and regulated to ensure docility, obedience and uniformity. Johnston, aware of the constant surveillance, wrote:

The eyes began their surveillance in the morning, watching the washing of hands and faces. The eyes followed all movements in the dressing of the beds; the eyes were transfixed on the backs of worshipers during mass. Throughout the day the eyes traced the motions of the hands at table; the eyes glared at the figures bent and coiled in work; the eyes tracked the flight of ball and puck and the movement of feet during play; the eyes were trained on the prints of pencil on paper; the eyes censored letters received and letters

<sup>90</sup> IAAR, 1899, Reverend G. A. Artus, S.J., Wikwemikong, 298-300; History of Wikwemikong, December 8, 1885, 23. (DS); Notes from School Diaries, 1908, 1. (DS)

written. The eyes, like those of the wolf, peered in the dark in watch over still, sleeping forms. The eyes were never at rest.<sup>91</sup>

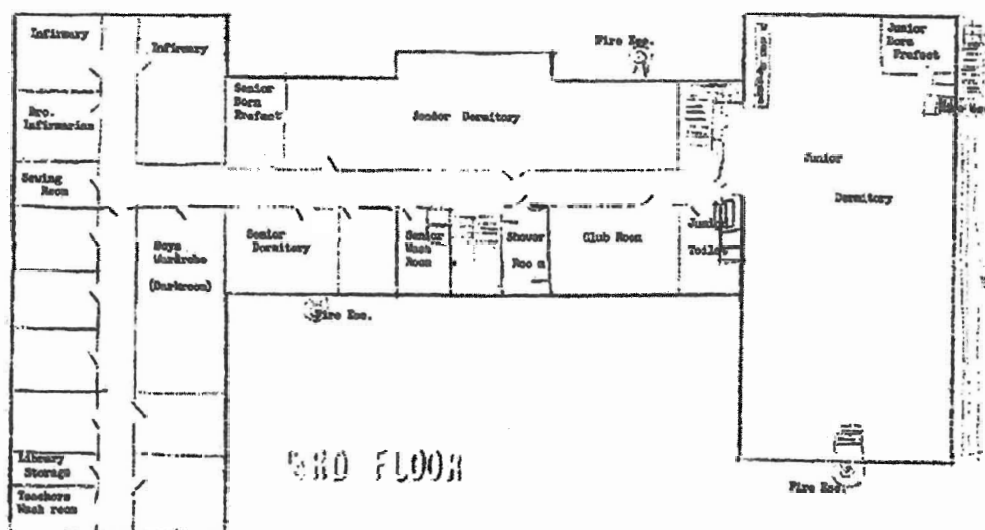
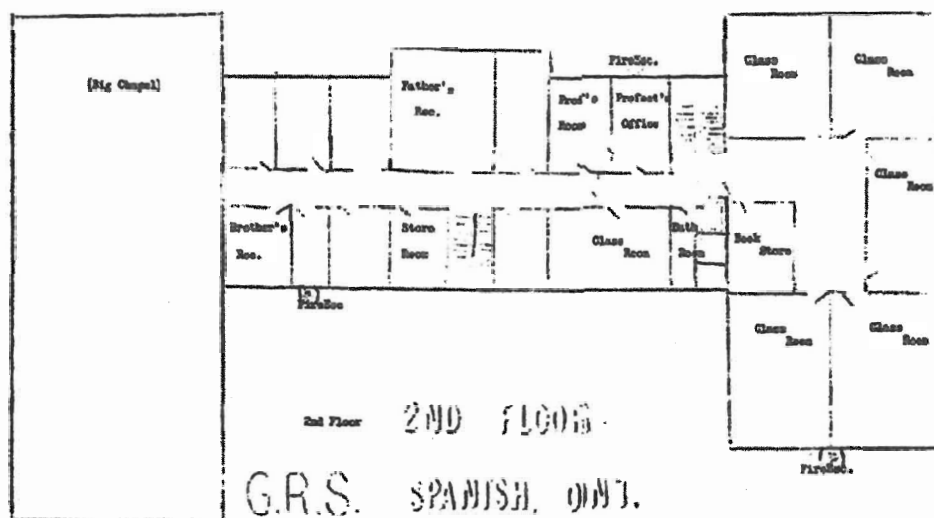
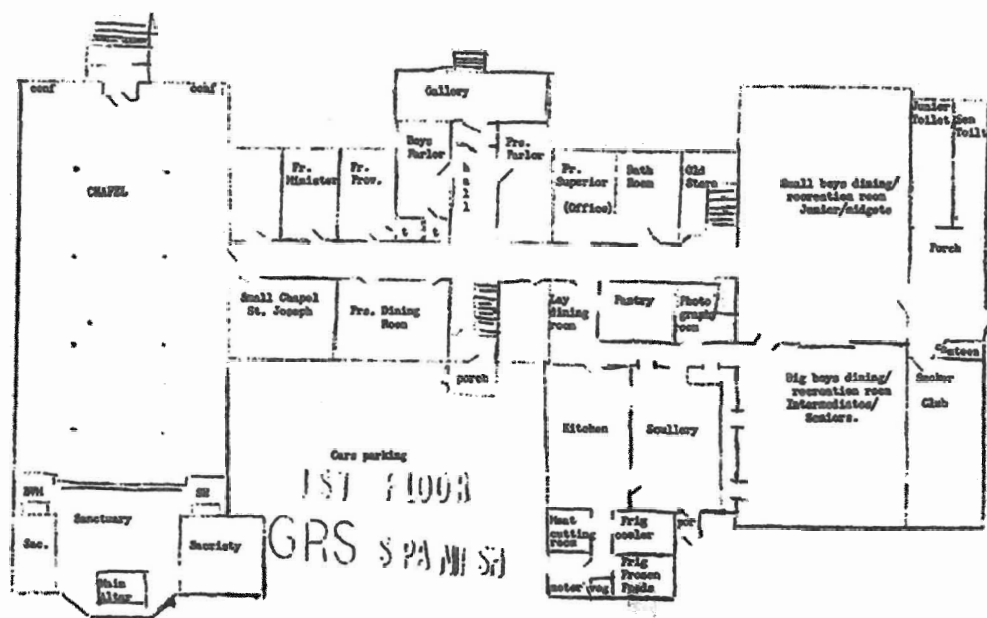
Students were not given the opportunity to influence their activities or locations throughout the day. They were made to follow a predetermined daily routine that assigned each student to specific activities and locations, during particular times of the day. The continual activities and heavy surveillance were to work together to persuade students to conform automatically to the desired habits and norms. This would enable school staff to secure order, uniformity and regularity among their subjects.

**Table 6.4: “A Day in the Life of Spanish” During the 1940’s<sup>92</sup>**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>	<b>Location</b>
6:15	Rise	Dormitory
6:45-7:25	Mass	Chapel
7:30-8:00	Breakfast	Dining Room
8:05-8:55	Work/Chores	Barn, tailor shop, shoe shop, carpentry shop, blacksmith shop, electrical shop, plumber’s shack, mill. Janitorial duties performed in all areas of school
9:00-11:55	Class/Work	Classrooms or work sites (Barn, tailor shop, shoe shop, carpentry shop, blacksmith shop, electrical shop, plumber’s shack, mill)
12:00-12:25	Dinner	Dining Room
12:30-1:10	Sports/games/rehearsal	Playground or recreation room
1:15-4:15	Class/Work	Classroom or work sites
4:15-4:30	Collation	Dining Room
4:30-4:55	Work/chores	Barn, tailor shop, shoe shop, carpentry shop, blacksmith shop, electrical shop, plumber’s shack, mill
5:00-5:55	Study	Study Hall
6:00-6:25	Supper	Dining Room
6:30-7:25	Sports/games/rehearsal	Playground or recreation room
7:30-9:00	Study	Study Hall
9:00-9:30	Prepare for Bed	Dormitory
9:30	Lights Out	Dormitory

<sup>91</sup> Johnston (1988), 138.

<sup>92</sup> Johnston (1988), 28-47.



**Figure 6.2: Floor Plans of the Boys' School at Spanish<sup>93</sup>**

## Meals

Meals were an important aspect of the students' day not only because the food helped to replenish students after a long night or an arduous day, but because this time was also used by the Jesuits to reinforce particular behaviours. The first meal of the day, breakfast, was served each morning after Mass. Two other meals, lunch and supper, were also served each day with a light snack in the mid-afternoon. This section will explore the manner in which meals were conducted at Spanish.

Very little is known about the daily food rations at either school with the exception of what can be pieced together from occasional comments on this topic. Some insight concerning daily food rations appeared in an inspection report of 1920:

Their food consists of, for breakfast porridge, milk, bread and butter: dinner, meat, potatoes, bread: on Fridays they have macaroni instead of meat: for supper beans or corn porridge, bread and tea or milk. Butter is given only once a day. The bread is a sort of black bread made from a formula obtained from some medical man who is known to them. It is objected to by the pupils, some of whom say they cannot eat it at all.<sup>94</sup>

The menu, then, was a repetition of the same bland foods each day with the only choice being to eat or go hungry. The inspection report gives no indication of the serving sizes. It is also worth noting that the regular daily menu may or may not be the same as what the inspector either witnessed or of which he was informed. As a result of this report, and some complaints that had been made by the parents, a loaf of bread from Spanish was sent to the Chief Analyst at the Department of Trade and Commerce for inspection.<sup>95</sup> The report indicated that the bread had an average nutrient value with slightly higher than normal

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<sup>93</sup> Floor plan of Garnier Residential School. Box File 1, Jesuit Archives. (DS) These plans are later than the time span of this thesis, however, the school was not rebuilt or drastically restructured.

<sup>94</sup> Inspector Phelan to A. F. MacKenzie. October 25, 1920. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>95</sup> Deputy Superintendent General to Anthony McGill. December 18, 1920. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

protein and fibre values, most likely due to higher bran content, and that the bread had a slightly sour taste.<sup>96</sup> The overall finding of this analysis was that the bread would not “cause ill health”.<sup>97</sup> To conclude this discussion between the school and the department Reverend Gravel, S.J., wrote to Duncan Campbell Scott explaining why the bread contained excess bran or whole wheat.<sup>98</sup> He indicated that many of the children were plagued with constipation at the school and the bread was the suggestion of the doctor to cure this malady. One may only speculate what the result of a high content of bran would be for the children if they were to eat too much of this food, perhaps explaining the abundance of complaints from the students.

In the afternoons a snack consisting of “bread soaked in molasses, and tea with milk and sugar” was given to the students, particularly, to the working boys.<sup>99</sup> Although the snack may not sound very appetizing, the students probably appreciated it after completing chores and still having a few hours to go until supper.<sup>100</sup> Basil Johnston’s testimony that the pieces of raw cabbage, carrots or turnips that he was served for *collation* were eaten “to stave off starvation” confirms this possibility.<sup>101</sup>

Aside from the quality and quantity of food served at the institution, the way in which meals were conducted is also worthy of note.<sup>102</sup> The meals were structured and regulated, with each student remaining at his seat, unless instructed to do otherwise. The boys fetched

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<sup>96</sup> Report on a sample of bread received from DIA. December 21, 1920. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>97</sup> Report on a sample of bread received from DIA. December 21, 1920. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>98</sup> Reverend V. Gravel, S.J., to Duncan Campbell Scott. January 6, 1921. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>99</sup> Diaries of September 1924 & June 30, 1925, cited in Shanahan (2004), 188.

<sup>100</sup> Johnston (1988) notes that in his experience the afternoon snack, referred to as ‘collation’, consisted of turnip, cabbage or other raw vegetables and, although not appetizing, was needed to quench hunger, 37-38.

<sup>101</sup> Johnston (1988), 38. *Collation* is French for snack, or light meal.

<sup>102</sup> Spanish Diary, October 7, 1924, cited in Shanahan (2004), 202.

their food in an orderly line and immediately returned to their seats. School regulations prescribed that if they wanted a second helping they were required raise their hand and obtain permission. Johnston's account that all boys were given the same amount of food, regardless of age or size, suggests that, in practice, there may not have been second helpings.<sup>103</sup> He recalled that every piece of food was eaten and that there was "just enough food to blunt the sharp edge of hunger for three or four hours, never enough to dispel hunger completely until the next meal."<sup>104</sup>

A 1924 entry in the school diary recorded that when every boy was finished eating a signal was given to cue the boys to place their plates, utensils and cups on the distributing bench.<sup>105</sup> This was done silently, in an efficient manner. The smaller boys were responsible for clean up in the mornings and at lunch and dinner "each line takes its turn to wash them. There are about twenty boys in each line".<sup>106</sup> Meals were a very regimented occasion - no running about was permitted in this environment, which was structured to enable authority figures to keep an eye on the boys throughout the proceedings. The general regulations of later years specified that grace was to be devoutly recited by all before and after meals, good manners were expected and dirty clothes, loud talk, and unwashed hands and faces were forbidden.<sup>107</sup> Johnston remembers meals as, "rituals almost as solemn as religious services in their intensity, the only sounds the clatter of spoons on plates and mugs and the muted 'Pass the Mush'".<sup>108</sup> Strict regulation during meals highlights how actions were "governed in

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<sup>103</sup> Johnston (1988), 40.

<sup>104</sup> Johnston (1988), 40.

<sup>105</sup> Spanish Diary, October 7, 1924, cited in Shanahan (2004), 202.

<sup>106</sup> Spanish Diary, October 7, 1924, cited in Shanahan (2004), 202.

<sup>107</sup> General Regulations, Jesuit Archives. (DS)

<sup>108</sup> Johnston (1988), 40.

detail by orders that had to be obeyed immediately”, with the intent to increase docility and manageability.<sup>109</sup>

Outside of the refectory environment, however, the students did sometimes enjoy a break from the everyday routine. Breaks were procured from the monotony of meal times at picnics, when special foods may have been prepared.<sup>110</sup> For example, on a picnic in June of 1925 students were served a meat and potato stew with bread but were also each given one flapjack with molasses and ice-cream for dessert. Given the availability of additional foods, such as ice cream, and the outdoor environment, one may assume that picnics were more relaxed and leisurely meals.

### Chores and Trades

After breakfast was finished students attended to chores. Residents of Spanish were expected to contribute to the maintenance and upkeep of the establishment as part of their training. These tasks were assigned according to age and gender and were not only necessary for the upkeep of the institution but were also meant to prepare the students for life after Spanish.

From the time the institution was located at Wikwemikong until the final day of the school at Spanish the older boys learned various trades. These specialized trades included carpentry, blacksmithing, shoemaking, tailoring, tinsmithing, farming, printing and others depending on the qualifications of the Brothers at the school (see Table 6.5).<sup>111</sup> In 1895, for example, two boys were preparing to become farmers, three to become carpenters, one to become a blacksmith and two were preparing to become tinsmiths while none of the boys

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<sup>109</sup> Foucault (1977), 150.

<sup>110</sup> For example, a visit from the Provincial may have elicited a special menu. Shanahan (2004), 189.

<sup>111</sup> Lists of trades taught at the school and often the number of boys learning each trade is indicated in the IAAR for each year.

**Table 6.5: Trades Taught to Boys at Wikwemikong and Spanish, 1884 - 1919**

Year	Trades*								
	Weaver	Carpenter	Tinsmith	Blacksmith	Shoemaker	Printer	Baker	Cook	Farmer
1884	1	2		2	5		2		
1889		1	3	3	3				
1894		1	2	1	1				
1899		4	1	1	2			1	15
1904		4		2	2				12
1909		4			2	?			?
1914					4		1		?
1918		5			4		3		?
1919		4			4				?

\*Additional Trades that occurred in years not on this chart include wagon making and bookbinding

? Indicates that the number of boys practicing the trade is unknown

Information for this chart was compiled from the Indian Affairs Annual Reports (1884-1919)

were apprenticing in shoemaking or tailoring.<sup>112</sup> These numbers had changed from those submitted in 1894 when no boys were preparing to become farmers, one was apprenticing as a carpenter, two as tinsmiths, one as a shoemaker and one as a blacksmith.<sup>113</sup> Only a small number of boys were trained in trades at Wikwemikong because of a limited demand for what was produced (the consumers of the goods being those at the school and “a certain number of Indians whose buying capacity is very limited”).<sup>114</sup> However, by 1920 seven or

<sup>112</sup> IAAR, 1895, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 330-331.

<sup>113</sup> IAAR, 1894, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 254-255.

<sup>114</sup> IAAR, 1897, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 231.



eight boys were required for milking, four worked making and repairing shoes, three trained as carpenters and during the summer four or five boys worked as farmers.<sup>115</sup>

The move to Spanish increased the amount of land available for farming, which may have also increased the harvest and the potential profits received from the products. In 1920, for example:

the land produced 65 tons of hay, 1,400 bushels of oats, 30 bushels of wheat, 20 bushels of peas, 630 bushels of potatoes, 400 head of cabbage, 40 bags of carrots, 25 bushels of tomatoes, 78 bags of corn and 115 bags of other vegetables in 1920. The farm at that time also consisted of twelve horses, twenty-four cows, twelve yearling, nine pigs, two hundred hens, and one registered Holstein bull.<sup>116</sup>

Shanahan draws our attention to the fact that much of the above harvest was sold for revenue.<sup>117</sup> Thus, the trades at the institution were preparing the boys for their eventual livelihoods, and their positions within society as labourers, while supplementing the schools' government grants. The concept of selling labour and time for money was taught to the students at Spanish, which, in the spirit of capitalism, is accompanied by the idea of self-improvement and potential upward mobility with wealth, status and private property acting as symbols of success.<sup>118</sup> The increase in land may have also provided a better opportunity to instil a particular spatial ontology. Agricultural land at Spanish was most likely neatly divided and assigned certain crops. Hannah argues that agriculture "fosters habits of industry and thrift and instils an appreciation of private property".<sup>119</sup> Farming, then, was not only an economic venture but may have also been a means of encouraging appreciation for neatly

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<sup>115</sup> Inspector [Puku] to A. F. MacKenzie. October 25, 1920. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>116</sup> Spanish School Letterbook, 1896-1919, April 30, 1920, Jesuit Archives of Upper Canada, cited in Shanahan (2004), 101.

<sup>117</sup> Shanahan (2004), 101.

<sup>118</sup> Concept from Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991), 58-60.

<sup>119</sup> Matthew G. Hannah, "Space and Social Control in the Administration of the Oglala Lakota ("Sioux"), 1871-1879", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 19.4 (1993), 414.

organized and sectioned private property, which were thought to be essential steps toward assimilation.<sup>120</sup>

The amount of time spent performing trades and other duties varied according to the principal. The older boys were not the exception, but every student was expected to pull his or her weight at the school:

Besides this special training given to a few boys, all the pupils are set, each one according to sex and ability, three hours every day, to various kinds of labour such as sweeping, scrubbing, washing, sawing and splitting firewood, dairying, gardening, stock feeding, sewing, knitting, helping in the kitchen, in the mill, on the farm, &c. They like these various occupations and become quite industrious.<sup>121</sup>

Every student had his or her own tasks to complete each day and was expected to enjoy these activities and fulfil his or her duties in a diligent manner. As indicated, the chores were not only divided by ability and age, but also by gender. While the boys attended to the more physical outdoor labour the girls were responsible for various domestic duties. Reflecting common Canadian attitudes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that boys were naturally gifted in strenuous outdoor activities, boys were often subjected to heavier and often dirty tasks. The girls, thought to be naturally delicate, were generally to be kept from these sorts of activities.<sup>122</sup> The older girls, like the older boys, were engaged daily in industries such as sewing, knitting or embroidery, which were taught to them “with great painstaking”.<sup>123</sup> The information available concerning the girls’ activities at Spanish is limited. However, Reverend Paquin, S.J., did explain that:

for the industrial part of their education our girls follow no trade in particular, but learn all kinds of housework. They learn to make their own dresses, and

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<sup>120</sup> Hannah (1993), 414.

<sup>121</sup> IAAR, 1898, G.A. Artus, S.J., Wikwemikong, 264-265.

<sup>122</sup> Milloy (1996), 222.

<sup>123</sup> IAAR, 1889, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 20.

do all the repairing, washing and general housework. They also help in the vegetable garden under the direction of their mistresses.<sup>124</sup>

These tasks, along with moral training, reflected gendered divisions in labour, emphasized by Victorian ideas of women as the centre of the home.<sup>125</sup> When new washing equipment was purchased for the institutions, some of the old washtubs remained for the purpose of teaching the girls how to do the wash at home.<sup>126</sup> Tasks were to prepare the girls for their roles as homemakers and as civilizing agents for husbands and children.<sup>127</sup> It was especially important, according to Miller, that female students marry a fellow male residential school graduate. This was important, first, because an assimilated woman would ensure a healthy home and, second, because it would be inappropriate to subject a refined, educated woman to an uneducated ‘pagan’ husband.<sup>128</sup>

At one time the school provided boys who apprenticed in trades, such as blacksmithing, with the “necessary tools” to begin this venture upon graduation.<sup>129</sup> There are various possible explanations for this costly and seemingly benevolent gesture. The school could have been looking out for the interests of their apprentices, and wishing them the best, presented a graduation gift – no strings attached - demonstrating the pride they had in their accomplishments and the faith they had in their abilities. Another interpretation of this gesture may be that the school expected the student to continue with the trade and to retain the skills and traits that he was taught upon leaving the institution to facilitate his entry into society. Authorities may have believed that many students would not have the means or the drive to purchase these tools on their own and hence would not practice the trade. Milloy

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<sup>124</sup> IAAR, 1894, D. Du Ranquet, Wikwemikong, 21.

<sup>125</sup> Miller (1996), 218.

<sup>126</sup> Reverend V. Gravel, S.J., to DIA Secretary. January 18, 1922. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5, part 1.

<sup>127</sup> See Milloy (1999) or Miller (1996) for further information on expectations for female graduates.

<sup>128</sup> Miller (1996), 229.

<sup>129</sup> IAAR, 1886, D. Du Ranquet, Wikwemikong, 17.

indicates that fear of graduates “backsliding” was common.<sup>130</sup> Hence, the benevolent gift demonstrates the push given to the students to continue practicing the trades for which they were trained. The gesture may also suggest an expectation for the graduate to use the ‘proper tools’ to practice his trade as opposed to completing the same work in a more unconventional manner with the ‘wrong’ tools. However, Johnston notes that upon graduation many students realized that “the trades for which we had been trained were rendered obsolete by new technology.”<sup>131</sup>

### School and Classes

After chores students attended classes and, for some, these were continued in the afternoon. Students were instructed in a variety of subjects, including patriotism, tested at public examinations, and ranked according to ability. Classrooms, because of how furniture was arranged, were also an ideal setting for continual observation and individualization. Although various opinions existed regarding the scholarly abilities of the students at Spanish, classes were often deemed less important than trades.

Many officials dealing with residential schools believed that Aboriginal students had a limited intellectual capacity and “were morally and intellectually degenerate”.<sup>132</sup> But the views of many of the officials were full of contradiction. Many people involved with the schooling of Aboriginal students thought that Aboriginal peoples were capable of moral and intellectual improvement.<sup>133</sup> Miller concludes that the program of study at residential schools reflected racist assumptions through inadequate academic and vocational training.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Milloy (1999), 161.

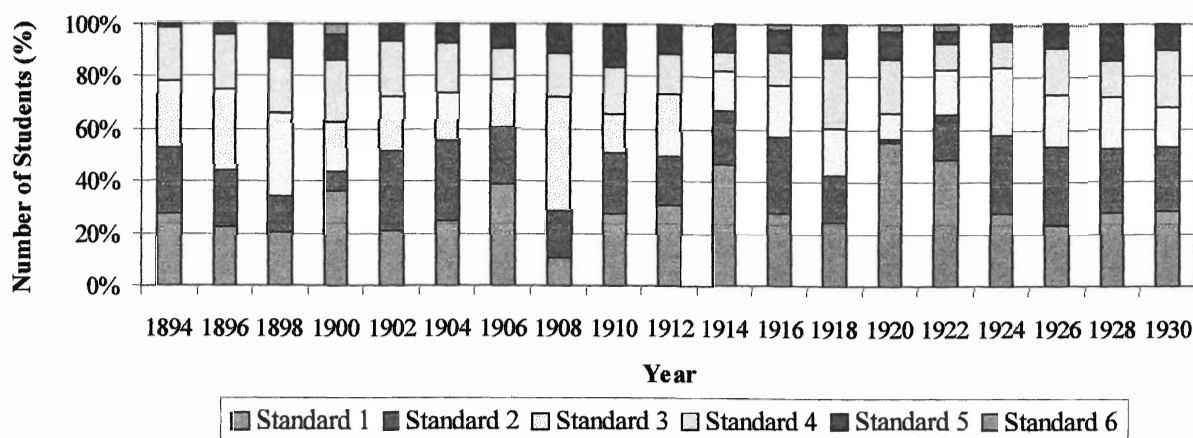
<sup>131</sup> Johnston (1988), 27.

<sup>132</sup> Milloy (1999), 179; Miller (1996), 185.

<sup>133</sup> Miller (1996), 154 & 187.

<sup>134</sup> Miller (1996), 155.

**Figure 6.3: Levels of Study at Wikwemikong and Spanish: 1894 - 1930\***



\* Information for this figure was compiled from the Indian Affairs Annual Reports (1894-1930)

There were six standards through which residential school students were to advance. Until 1920 most of them remained in the first, second or third standard, either for convenience or because of poor instruction, while students in the public school system advanced at much faster pace.<sup>135</sup> Students within residential schools were given half the time given to those in provincial schools to complete classes and the *Annual Reports* often indicated more time allotted to schooling than what individual accounts suggest.<sup>136</sup> According to the Indian Affairs *Annual Reports* the majority of students at Spanish remained in the first, second or third standard for the period explored in this thesis (see Figure 6.3). Basil Johnston's reaction to a similar situation was that he was "forced to listen to dull and boring lessons rendered even duller and more boring by my sense of unjust treatment".<sup>137</sup>

The curriculum at residential schools, which after 1895 was similar to that of public schools, was set by the government and, like most other schools, emphasised knowledge of

<sup>135</sup> Jean Barman, "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children", in Nancy Janovicek and Joy Parr, eds., *Histories of Canadian Children and Youth* (Don Mills, 2003), 219.

<sup>136</sup> Barman (2003), 217.

<sup>137</sup> Johnston (1988), 35.

**Table 6.6: Classes Taught at Wikwemikong Industrial School, 1878-1892<sup>138</sup>**

Year		Total Boys on Roll	Total Girls on Roll	Boarders	Average Daily Attendance	Number of Students:							
						Reading & Spelling	Writing	Learning Arithmetic	Learning Grammar	Learning Geography	Learning History	Learning Music and Singing	Learning Drawing
1878	Boys	61			26	27	53	39	9	12			
	Girls		79		42	61	63	54	5				
1880	Boys	51			27	51	51	34	18	16		24	
	Girls		68		48	68	57	42	12	9		4	
1881	Girls		76		58	73	57	73	25	25			
1882	Boys	61			47	57	28	34	23	18		14	
	Girls		59		47	64	57	54	25	10		19	
1884	Boys	49		59	36	39	19	40	15	10	6	8	
	Girls		78	(average)	54	56	48	70	19	22	18		
1886	Boys	35		19	21	21	17	25	8	9	6		
	Girls		48	20	28	33	31	44	5	5	5	3	3
1888*	Boys	42		70	31	29	22	23	7	5	6	12	12
	Girls		61		45	47	43	55	18	23		57	57
1890**	Both	64		n/a	48	62	62	59	35	34	33		
1892	Boys	45		n/a	40	44	44	44	27	22	4		
	Girls		47	n/a	44	43	43	39	12	12	12		

\* Until 1889 statistics included Day Students at Wikwemikong

\*\* Statistics for boys and girls were combined for this year

the privileges of British citizenship to encourage appreciation, respect and admiration for Canada and its laws.<sup>139</sup> Dominion Day, Victoria Day, the King's Birthday and Thanksgiving Day were observed in an appropriate manner. The curriculum, at Spanish included subjects such as arithmetic, writing, grammar, history and geography (see Table 6.6). The students at

<sup>138</sup> Chart compiled from available information in the IAAR, 1878-1892.

<sup>139</sup> The Correspondence and Agreement Relating to The Maintenance and Management of Indian Boarding Schools, 1911. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-8152, Volume 6039, File 160-1, part 1; Barman (2003), 217.

Spanish were considered to be quite talented in the arts, demonstrating “taste and precision” in their vocal skills.<sup>140</sup>

Young students at Spanish spent approximately five and a half hours in class each day. As they got older, however, less time was dedicated to study and more and more time was allotted to trades (among the boys) and domestic work (among the girls). There are at least two reasons for the students spending less time in class as they aged, both of which stem from racist assumptions prevalent at the time. First, educators believed that it was their industrial and domestic skills, as opposed to their intellectual training, that would enable students to integrate successfully into Euro-Canadian society as workers.<sup>141</sup> Secondly,

we might desire them to be equal in every respect to their White brethren, which is an excellent wish, but to be grounded upon nature, hopes of this kind ought not to be too sanguine. Indian children may read and spell very correctly, but it would be difficult to make great mathematicians of them. Ne sutor ultra crepidum said the Latin moralist.<sup>142</sup>

Although faint hopes existed that students would exceed expectations, they were often encouraged to stick to the simplest tasks.

Students were separated for classes as well as for chores by gender and age. Older students were taught in one classroom and attended to specific chores while younger students were taught in another and had their own responsibilities. This may have served both to organize the student body and to remove further the influence of family and friends, dissipating the children’s support networks. The separation may also have served to segregate students of varying abilities allowing them to advance only when they had

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<sup>140</sup> IAAR, 1891, D. Du Ranquet, Wikwemikong, 20.

<sup>141</sup> Milloy (1999), 36.

<sup>142</sup> IAAR, 1883, A. Baudin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 96, emphasis in original; The Latin statement ‘ne sutor ultra crepidum’ would roughly translate into ‘the cobbler should stick to his last’

mastered the required standards, taught in the simplest form, creating small, yet hierarchical, steps.<sup>143</sup>

By the 1920's, most school students had individual desks although some schools still used double desks until the 1950's.<sup>144</sup> In the classrooms at Spanish, single desks were positioned in rows, increasing individual visibility, and decreasing potential interaction among the students. Desks had to be arranged "in ten rows, with 5 desks and a front and rear seat to each row".<sup>145</sup> These very particular arrangements of single desks in the classroom were, in Reverend Sauve's words, "a great help for discipline and ... render the teacher's task easier in class".<sup>146</sup>

The selection of desks also demonstrates the uniformity that was expected within the school. The desks provided for students were generally of a cherry finish, however, one shipment arrived with white seats with only the table in a cherry finish. The school principal ruled that this, of course, was not acceptable as it "spoils the good appearance of the class".<sup>147</sup> Arrangements were made for a special order, which was quite expensive, in order to provide the classrooms with uniform cherry finish desks. To differentiate between the teacher and student within the classroom it was necessary for the students' desks to be of a cherry finish, while the teachers' desks were ordered and provided in a golden finish.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Foucault (1977), 158-159.

<sup>144</sup> Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto, 1997), 190.

<sup>145</sup> DIA Secretary to Reverend Chas. Belanger, S.J. August 29, 1924. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5, part 1.

<sup>146</sup> Reverend J. B. Sauve, S.J., to DIA Secretary. August 21, 1924. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5, part 1.

<sup>147</sup> Reverend Chas. Belanger, S.J., to Secretary Dept. of I.A. Nov 8<sup>th</sup>, 1928. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C 7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5, part 2.

<sup>148</sup> F. H. Paget to Globe Furniture Co. Ltd. October 13, 1924. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1.



Other aspects of schooling included public demonstrations and examinations. The students were required to put on plays, concerts, demonstrate physical drills, and respond to “questions on catechism, history, grammar, geography and arithmetic” at public examinations. Such occasions would be held at Christmas, the end of the school year and intermittently throughout. Examinations were not only a means of testing what knowledge the students may have acquired, but were also a way to rank the students to enable the measurement of gaps and attained levels. For example, students’ performances at examinations would clearly distinguish between those who excelled at certain subjects and those who may have been experiencing difficulties. Examples of plays that were performed include “When the Cat’s Away”<sup>149</sup> and “Spick & Span Circus”.<sup>150</sup> Although there are no descriptions of these plays, their content, indicated by the titles of the plays, may reinforce behavioural standards such as cleanliness and self-discipline. To present these plays students would have been required to practice their parts, remember lines and positions on stage, and follow instructions. After adequate rehearsal/repetition the final production was a means of demonstrating how well students were able to follow instructions and successfully complete their roles in the performance. Students may have been judged based on how well they performed by teachers, by fellow cast members, or by others in the audience. These occasions were attended not only by school staff, but possibly parents and other members of the public, particularly when the school was located in Wikwemikong.<sup>151</sup>

Students at Spanish were also each assigned a number. According to Shanahan, the numbers were often used in lieu of their names and were also included in correspondence to

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<sup>149</sup> Notes from School Diaries, December 1924, 4. (DS)

<sup>150</sup> Notes from School Diaries, October 2, 1928, 5. (DS)

<sup>151</sup> IAAR, 1884. Reverend A. Baudin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 21; IAAR, 1889, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, Wikwemikong, 20.

the department of Indian Affairs.<sup>152</sup> The assignment of numbers, a step in removing the students' individuality, may have made the students more manageable and may have encouraged the adoption of a school identity.<sup>153</sup>

### Sports and Leisure

Play is an important feature of childhood that prepares children in many ways for adulthood.<sup>154</sup> In traditional Aboriginal cultures, play was used to teach children and prepare them for their adult roles within their communities. In contrast to residential schools, this was accomplished in an integrated, non-coercive manner that encouraged self-expression.<sup>155</sup> Recreation and play within the residential school setting was a form of "re-creation" that reinforced strict rules and compliance to discipline.<sup>156</sup>

Students received two hours each weekday and Saturday afternoons for recreational purposes. Also, any student whose behaviour and performance had been satisfactory through the month received the first Tuesday (boys) or Wednesday (girls) of the month as a "free day".<sup>157</sup> The promise of having a day off may have been a means of directing, or normalizing, the students' behaviour. The rationale was that any student who was looking forward to their free day would not risk having it revoked by displaying inappropriate behaviours.

Boys and girls remained segregated during their free time. Granting the students separate 'free days' along with the separate fenced playgrounds ensured this separation and minimized possible contact. In fact, the students were separated further during outdoor

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<sup>152</sup> Shanahan (2004), 269; Reverend T. A. Desautels, S.J., to DIA Secretary. November 18, 1918. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>153</sup> Concept from Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole Life at two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo, 1997), 40.

<sup>154</sup> Sutherland (1997), 252-253.

<sup>155</sup> Miller (1996), 19.

<sup>156</sup> Milloy (1999), 37.

<sup>157</sup> IAAR, 1909, Th. Couture, S.J., Wikwemikong, 294.

recreation since both the boys' and girls' playgrounds were also divided into two areas according to age.<sup>158</sup> Students were monitored throughout their spare time and were even restricted to the 'suitable' activities that were furnished for their enjoyment. For example, Reverend Baudin states, "it is true that a strict watchfulness is kept over them at all times by some member of the Institution. Besides their studies and working hours they have a person constantly in attendance to know what they are doing."<sup>159</sup> A coterie of fathers, brothers, prefects, nuns and other students acted as the eyes of the institution. Since it seemed to be impossible to escape the gaze, students were under constant pressure to conform and mould their behaviour according to what was expected of them.

A distinct difference existed between the activities that were deemed suitable for the girls and those deemed appropriate for the boys. While the girls were engaged in 'quieter' activities, the boys were expected to be more active. Boys often indulged in physical activities such as baseball and football and "the girls love the quieter amusements of the swing and the like".<sup>160</sup> The girls often occupied their spare time with knitting, crocheting and needlework – which could be perceived as an extension of their school training as opposed to activities chosen for amusement.<sup>161</sup> A special branch of the women's sodality (a pious society within the Catholic Church that emphasized religious and/or moral teachings) was formed at the girls' school. While little is known about this group at Spanish, it may have acted as another leisure time activity to reinforce and advocate qualities 'desired' by school administration.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> IAAR, 1909, Reverend Th. Couture, S.J., Wikwemikong, 294; IAAR, 1912, Reverend Chas. Belanger, S.J., 514.

<sup>159</sup> IAAR, 1883, Reverend A. Baudin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 96.

<sup>160</sup> IAAR, 1886, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 313.

<sup>161</sup> IAAR, 1893, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 19.

<sup>162</sup> History of Wikwemikong, January 15, 1911, 34. (DS) For more information on sodalities see *The Catholic Encyclopedia [Online]*, Available: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>.

During the evenings, rainy days, and winter months, students moved their recreational activities indoors. At Spanish, the recreation hall was the same room as the dining hall. However, the room was referred to by a different name during each period, perhaps to indicate that during those times there were different sets of rules and behavioural expectations. Various games, such as shuffleboard, were available for the students during indoor recreation.<sup>163</sup> The activities and games provided, such as shuffleboard, were laced with rules and codes of conduct to which students had to adhere.

On Sunday afternoons, suitable activities such as walks, picnics or sporting events were coordinated for the children, depending on the availability of suitable supervision. This coincides with moral ideas of the period that advocated suitable supervised activities for children, such as family time and picnics, on Sundays.<sup>164</sup> There is no indication in the documents used for this study that the students used their free time to engage in creative activities or games originating from their time at home. During the same time period Canadian children who were not in residential schools were often engaged in self-organized activities, were provided with minimal equipment and were able to use their imagination to create their own toys and activities.<sup>165</sup> The Spanish administration's determination to provide suitable activities for the students may have prevented the students from lapsing in their training but it also discouraged spontaneity.

An effort was made at Spanish each year by prefects to make an ice rink for the boys for the purposes of playing ice hockey.<sup>166</sup> The water was carried in barrels or pails

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<sup>163</sup> IAAR, 1894, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, Wikwemikong, 21.

<sup>164</sup> Valverde (1991), 22.

<sup>165</sup> Play varied according to the socio-economic status of the children. More money usually meant more opportunities to play. For more information on play during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century see Norah Lewis, ed. *Freedom to Play: We Made our Own Fun* (Waterloo, 2002).

<sup>166</sup> Reverend J.B. Sauve, S.J., to Secretary of Dept of I.A. unknown date. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Volume 6218, Reel C-7946, File 471-5 part 1.

approximately 150 feet until the Department provided the school with a hose in 1924, demonstrating the effort that went into making such activities available.<sup>167</sup> Also, the boys' abilities in various sports were a source of pride for the school. This is reflected in a report to the Department made by Reverend Baudin, S.J., noting that each day tourists from Toronto admired the "dexterity" with which the students played baseball.<sup>168</sup> Although sports were an ideal way to shape the students' bodies they were also used to promote the cause of residential schooling by displaying the discipline and civility the boys learned.<sup>169</sup> The nature of sporting teams also introduced a hierarchical ranking of the players since some students displayed more talent than others.

Sports were featured at Spanish as recreational activities to help the children's "physical development".<sup>170</sup> However, this was also the era of muscular Christianity, which asserted that physical fitness was necessary for both moral and mental improvement and as a preventative for moral and spiritual degeneration.<sup>171</sup> Basil Johnston recalls that boys, in particular, were engaged in activities such as football, baseball, hockey and gymnastics:

when the school year began there were baseball and softball; after softball there was touch football; after touch football, boxing and basketball; after basketball, hockey and boxing; after hockey, more basketball and boxing. Finally baseball again. If there had been cricket and polo and lacrosse, we would have played those as well.<sup>172</sup>

Rules and regulations that were found in the Jesuit Archives for later years revealed that participation in sporting activities was mandatory and that all participating were required

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<sup>167</sup> Reverend J.B. Sauve, S.J., to DIA. January 9, 1924. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Volume 6218, Reel C-7946, File 471-5 part 1.

<sup>168</sup> IAAR, 1884, Reverend A. Baudin, Wikwemikong, 21.

<sup>169</sup> For further information on this topic see John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports and Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis, 2000), xiv.

<sup>170</sup> IAAR, 1895, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 18.

<sup>171</sup> Valverde (1991), 30; Elizabeth Fee, and Theodore M. Brown, "The Indian Club Exercise", *American Journal of Public Health*, 93.5 (2003), 723.

<sup>172</sup> Johnston (1988), 207.

to do so with good sportsmanship.<sup>173</sup> Johnston emphasized the “intense concentration” some brothers had for the rules.<sup>174</sup> While documentation with reference to Spanish is minimal, at similar residential schools sports were highly regulated activities that required organization and compliance to certain rules, which encouraged behavioural norms.<sup>175</sup> Sporting activities, therefore, were a means of practicing obedience and compliance with rules while learning appropriate behaviours such as sportsmanship and cooperation.<sup>176</sup> Covert tactics continued to mould the students even during recreational activities. This was accomplished under the guise of fun, so the boys may have thought that they were escaping regulation and discipline in these activities and creating their own space and identities.<sup>177</sup>

### Scouting

The opportunity for boys to become a Cadet, or later, a Boy Scout was encouraged at Spanish. As early as 1906 there are indications that a Cadet corps had been established for the boys at the Wikwemikong Industrial School.<sup>178</sup> By the fall of 1929 school authorities were making an “intelligent effort to commence Boy Scout work at the institution”.<sup>179</sup> A Mr. Charles Kisel, who had extensive scouting experience, would be scoutmaster. The Boy Scout Organization provided information regarding how to commence a scout troop in the form of a booklet entitled ‘How to organize a Boy Scout Troop’ to Mr. Kisel and Russell Ferrier, the Superintendent of Education at the Department of Indian Affairs.<sup>180</sup> Before sending out registration certificates for the scoutmaster and the potential boy scouts, the Boy

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<sup>173</sup> General Regulations, Jesuit Archives. (DS)

<sup>174</sup> Johnston (1988), 207.

<sup>175</sup> Bloom (2000), xviii.

<sup>176</sup> Bloom (2000), 9.

<sup>177</sup> Bloom (2000), 96.

<sup>178</sup> History of Wikwemikong, June 17, 1906, 31. (DS)

<sup>179</sup> Russell Ferrier to Frank Irwin. September 5, 1929. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>180</sup> Frank Irwin to Russell Ferrier. September 10, 1929. Toronto. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

Scout Association requested both the endorsement of the Principal at Spanish and that of the Department of Indian Affairs on the application for Troop Charter (enrolment forms). As in the case of other government-run schools, registration fees usually required for enrolment were waved for the Spanish Troop.<sup>181</sup>

The Boy Scout organization itself was related to wider movements of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century such as nationalism, social service and citizenship training.<sup>182</sup> Scouting also drew upon the then current Public School culture in Britain, which emphasized character. Character, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries included qualities such as “physical strength and fitness, endurance, self-control, courage, honesty, obedience, duty, sociability, manliness, altruism, self-sacrifice, loyalty and patriotism”, which were developed through athletics, particularly team sports.<sup>183</sup> Rosenthal argues that the Boy Scout movement was a “character factory” while Proctor notes that the Boy Scout movement was a “complex process involved in the shaping of identity”.<sup>184</sup> The scouting movement masked a hidden agenda, a form of discipline, which shaped the boys’ minds and bodies, behind the promise of fun and adventure.<sup>185</sup> In many colonial contexts scouting was an ideal way of training children to become model, loyal and patriotic citizens.<sup>186</sup> In the Canadian context, particularly following the Great War, Cadet and Scout movements flourished at residential

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<sup>181</sup> Frank Irwin to Russell Ferrier. September 25, 1929. Toronto. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>182</sup> Carey Watt, “The Promise of ‘Character’ and the Spectre of Sedition: The Boy Scout Movement and Colonial Consternation in India, 1908-1921”, *South Asia*, 12.2 (1999), 39.

<sup>183</sup> Watt (1999), 39.

<sup>184</sup> Tammy M. Proctor, “(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39”, *History Workshop Journal*, 45 (1998), 103.

<sup>185</sup> Robert MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto, 1993), 151.

<sup>186</sup> Watt (1999), 39. Watt demonstrates that exceptions did exist. For example, much ambivalence and division existed over the decision to permit Indian scouting troops within colonial India.

schools.<sup>187</sup> The irony of scouting, which in part taught survival and camping skills among children who were to be ‘civilized’, seemed to be lost on promoters of the movement at that time.<sup>188</sup>

During the initial organization phase of the troop at Spanish correspondence was conducted through the Department of Indian Affairs and the Boy Scout Association. The Department ordered materials such as uniforms, badges and other scouting paraphernalia, such as signalling flags for the troop at Spanish. The uniforms included a hat, shirt, belt, socks and pants along with neckerchiefs and knots.

Nine boys were enrolled and trained in the first patrol of scouts at Spanish. Kisel predicted the troop would be successful, judging by the enthusiasm of the boys. Although complete uniforms were ordered for this first troop Kisel noted in correspondence to Ferrier that “the boys will receive them only a piece at a time as they earn it”.<sup>189</sup> If the boys were as interested in the movement as Kisel noted, the thought of earning a uniform provided an impetus for the boys to conform to scouting ideals quickly. Kisel wrote that, in fact, the uniforms were “indeed a great boost and contributed greatly to create the fine spirit which is now in the troop”.<sup>190</sup>

As early as September 5, 1929, while details were still being attended to, the Superintendent of Education requested that a field executive representing the Boy Scouts visit the school to ensure all was proceeding properly.<sup>191</sup> Through examinations such as this, scouting encouraged observation of both the boys and the scoutmaster, while reinforcing a

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<sup>187</sup> Miller (1996), 278.

<sup>188</sup> Miller (1996), 278.

<sup>189</sup> Chas. Kisel to Russell Ferrier. September 29, 1929. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>190</sup> Chas. Kisel to Russell Ferrier. December 2, 1929. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>191</sup> Frank Irwin to Russell Ferrier. September 10, 1929. Toronto. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.



variety of the characteristics the school administration was attempting to instil in the students. Scouting encouraged uniform dress and character, strict discipline, obedience and conformity while frowning upon individuality, independent judgement and the questioning of authority.<sup>192</sup> The primary goal for Baden-Powell, however, was unquestioning obedience.<sup>193</sup> Each of these characteristics corresponds with the qualities residential schools were attempting to instil in Canadian Aboriginal children.<sup>194</sup>

By December of 1929 Kisel reported that the first nine boys to be enrolled "in the movement are in good shape as far as the tests in Scout Work are concerned" and twenty-nine new recruits were enrolled.<sup>195</sup> The maximum number of scouts permitted within a troop, however, was thirty-two. Kisel noted that the twenty-nine new recruits, in addition to the nine original scouts, would exceed the limit. Yet, due to the enthusiasm of the boys he could not bring himself to restrict enrolment. Instead, he was certain "there will no doubt be some who will in time, not try to live up to the Scout Law so they will have to drop out, so that in the end the troop will consist of the regulation number of Scouts".<sup>196</sup> This may imply that Kisel did not expect all the boys to make an effort to improve themselves through the movement.

The activities engineered for the scouts enabled them to earn uniforms and badges. The acquisition of values and skills necessary to qualify badges was encouraged through

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<sup>192</sup> MacDonald (1993); Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York, 1986).

<sup>193</sup> Rosenthal (1986).

<sup>194</sup> Miller (1996), 278.

<sup>195</sup> Chas. Kisel to Russell Ferrier. December 2, 1929. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>196</sup> Chas. Kisel to Russell Ferrier. December 2, 1929. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

repetition and drill.<sup>197</sup> Scouts were given opportunities such as the ‘Christmas Entertainment’ to demonstrate their newly acquired skills to other students and staff. Competition between the scouts was encouraged through various other activities, such as the proposed Scout Garden. Unfortunately in the spring of 1930 the government denied funding for materials such as hoes and seeds required for this particular endeavour.<sup>198</sup> To complement character building, the garden was to demonstrate the material results of having a scouting troop at the school.

The hierarchy that scouting created and maintained among the boys was very important. Scouts are ranked according to ability and skill through the allocation of badges, which indicate the level of the scout’s achievement. The achievement and position of the scouts were always visible through the display of badges. The Scouts were organized into patrols with one Scout acting as the leader of each patrol. Three patrol leaders were appointed in 1929 while the remainder of the Scouts sported tenderfoot buttonhole badges at this time. Tenderfoot badges were received upon the successful completion of the first test at which time the scouts had learned the salutes, handshakes, promise and laws along with the “rituals for membership”.<sup>199</sup> In March of 1930 Kisel indicated that a Court of Honour<sup>200</sup> was organized to enable Patrol Leaders to meet for the purpose of discussing and deciding important issues for the troop.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Chas. Kisel to Russell Ferrier. December 2, 1929. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>198</sup> MacKenzie to Chas. Kisel. March 19, 1930. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>199</sup> Proctor (1998), 124.

<sup>200</sup> Chas. Kisel to Russell Ferrier. April 25, 1930. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>201</sup> Liam Morland, *Scouting Glossary [Online]*, Available: [http://scoutdocs.ca/Documents/Scouting\\_Glossary.php](http://scoutdocs.ca/Documents/Scouting_Glossary.php).

Perhaps a bit unorganized at first, the Scout meetings were quickly running smoothly with constant improvement, and were eventually 'well conducted by the boys themselves.'<sup>202</sup> The impressionable young boys at Spanish often participated enthusiastically and energetically in the scouting movement, unaware that they were being directed, shaped and moulded through the various activities. The scouting movement was an organization used by the church and government to reaffirm many qualities and behaviours they sought to instil in their students.

By the spring of 1930, when the scouting movement was well underway at Spanish, the government no longer provided uniforms (now a responsibility of the school) and insisted that correspondence from Spanish be sent directly to Scout Headquarters. From the perspective of the school staff the new troop was a success. Kisel's assessment was that 'Boy Scout work has taken well here and the results so far have surpassed our fondest hopes. Those who have been away from the school for several months, on coming back, notice the difference in the boys and attribute it to Scouting'.<sup>203</sup>

### Discipline

By 1880 corporal punishment within public schools was being criticized within educational literature and teachers were advised to use restraint and encourage self-discipline.<sup>204</sup> However, much was still left to the discretion of the teacher and corporal punishment was common in all schools until the 1960s.<sup>205</sup> In 1906, Reverend Couture, S.J., wrote that "no corporal chastisement is administered, save in cases of gross insubordination

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<sup>202</sup> Chas. Kisel to Russell Ferrier. April 25, 1930. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>203</sup> Chas. Kisel to Russell Ferrier. April 25, 1930. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7947, Volume 6219, File 471-17, part 1.

<sup>204</sup> Axelrod (1997), 59.

<sup>205</sup> Miller (1996), 322.

or misbehaviour”.<sup>206</sup> This *Annual Report* may be misleading since there is evidence that many acts of disobedience were punishable via the strap, including bed-wetting, stealing, vandalism or losing mittens.<sup>207</sup> Other acts that deserved punishments were “bad talk” or hurrying “home ahead of the main group”.<sup>208</sup> At Spanish corporal punishment and other methods of discipline were employed by the “officers of the establishment” to enforce rules and regulations and procure “the whole year round, perfect order and discipline among the pupils”.<sup>209</sup>

Besides the subtle control of disciplinary techniques that are visible throughout students’ daily routine other measures were taken to ensure obedience and docility. Alternative courses of action ranged from granting extra privileges or giving demerits to corporal punishment and humiliation. Shanahan notes that punishments at Spanish were “the typical Jesuit ones: thrashings, ‘jug’ (detention after school or during weekend recreation)’ and ‘silence at meals or during recreation’”.<sup>210</sup> Basil Johnston recounts that, “for many offences punishment was swift and arbitrary, administered by means of various weapons at hand – a ruler, a rod, a bell, a pointer, the open hand, the closed fist, a leather riding boot.”<sup>211</sup>

Punishments varied according to who was in charge at the time.<sup>212</sup> For example the *Dictionary of Jesuit Biography* describes Alphonse Baudin, S.J., who spent 25 years at Spanish, as being “somewhat severe in reprimanding those whose conduct, in his estimation, failed to meet Christian standards”.<sup>213</sup> Head shaving was both a disciplinary tool along with

<sup>206</sup> IAAR, 1906, Reverend Th. Couture, S.J., Wikwemikong, 327.

<sup>207</sup> See various entries in Notes from School Diaries (DS); Shanahan (2004).

<sup>208</sup> Most of these incidents are referred to throughout the diaries or have been cited in Shanahan (2004), 208.

<sup>209</sup> IAAR, 1891, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 19.

<sup>210</sup> Shanahan (2004), 204.

<sup>211</sup> Johnston (1988), 138

<sup>212</sup> Shanahan (2004), 208

<sup>213</sup> Dictionary of Jesuit Biography, cited in Shanahan (2004), 52.

a sanitary measure to avoid lice infestations.<sup>214</sup> One dissatisfied boy received a comb and mirror as a gift at Christmas, which a diary entry indicates were “no good for him as he has no hair!”<sup>215</sup> Non-corporal punishments such as lectures were also employed at the school.<sup>216</sup> Reports indicated, “very frequent public and private exhortations have been the principle means used to obtain this most desired result”.<sup>217</sup> In some instances there was a choice between an apology or the strap.<sup>218</sup> Furthermore, students were often publicly humiliated for acts that were deemed wrong. One boy was forced to ask forgiveness in front of the entire school, and once he had he was lectured further as the Jesuits deemed his apology to be in poor taste.<sup>219</sup>

Running away was considered a major offence at the school and, therefore, drew a hefty punishment. The most common punishment for running away, according to the documents to which I had access, was the strap, which was administered on the “posterior”.<sup>220</sup> Little description of these incidents exists and there is even less of an indication regarding the average severity or duration of this particular form of punishment. On one occasion the diaries noted that while some boys were being strapped “unearthly yells” and “unpleasant odors” resulted.<sup>221</sup> One can only speculate the length and severity of the beating to elicit such responses from the boys. The ages of the boys who received this beating are also not noted. Often the strap was not considered enough of a punishment for those who were returned to the school after running away. Beatings could be accompanied

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<sup>214</sup> Shanahan (2004), 216.

<sup>215</sup> Notes from School Diaries, December 1924, 4. (DS)

<sup>216</sup> Shanahan (2004), 216.

<sup>217</sup> IAAR, 1900, G.A. Artus, S.J., Wikwemikong, 317.

<sup>218</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 12, 1924, 4. (DS)

<sup>219</sup> Diary of September 1924, cited in Shanahan (2004), 210-211.

<sup>220</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 29, 1925, 4. (DS)

<sup>221</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 2, 1925, 4. (DS)

by a diet of bread and water and/or solitary confinement.<sup>222</sup> As indicated by one author of the diaries a diet of bread and water seemed even harsher when one considers that the boys who ran away may not have eaten anything while absent.<sup>223</sup> The prefects were not permitted to mention running away to the boys or to suggest that there were punishments for such acts, perhaps because even mentioning the act could inspire students to attempt the escape.<sup>224</sup>

Bed-wetting was also considered an act worthy of a thrashing. Scholars today believe that bedwetting is generally a problem in only one percent of children and youth between the ages of four and eighteen and, with the exception of medical conditions, stems from emotional stress.<sup>225</sup> To those administering Spanish, however, bedwetting was not a problem stemming from psychological issues but a deliberate act that could be cured through firm punishments.<sup>226</sup> This problem seemed to merit the most attention at the beginning of the school year, particularly during the month of September.<sup>227</sup> Given the attention bed-wetting elicited in the diary the act was considered to be a major problem. For example, there were at least twenty boys who, in September of 1927, struggled with this difficulty.<sup>228</sup>

On September 4, 1924 the diary noted that “piskers get strap – fewer piskers” indicating that the strap was viewed as a punishment and deterrent to wetting the bed. However, eight days later the diary stated “Piskers get their usual morning medicine”, revealing not only that the strap was used habitually as a punishment for this act but that the threat of being hit each morning did not seem to stop the problem (perhaps implying that bed

<sup>222</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 29, 1925, 4. (DS); Shanahan (2004), 66.

<sup>223</sup> St. Peter Claver School, Wikwemikong and Spanish, 1904-1919, (Diary) Jesuit Archives, Toronto, February 16, 1911, cited in Shanahan (2004), 66.

<sup>224</sup> Notes from School Diaries, June 27, 1929, 5. (DS)

<sup>225</sup> *Healthy Ontario [Online]*, Available: <http://www.healthyontario.com/english/>.

<sup>226</sup> Shanahan (2004), 212.

<sup>227</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 1924 & 1927, 4-5, are particularly detailed regarding bed-wetting. (DS)

<sup>228</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 27, 1927, 4. (DS)

wetting was a problem far more serious than poor behaviour). Bed-wetting is embarrassing for almost any child without having an entire room of peers to act as witnesses. This humiliation commonly affects the child's self esteem and causes emotional distress.<sup>229</sup> It is now known that to limit the psychological side effects that bedwetting may have on a child it is important to reiterate the accidental nature of the problem and not to blame the child.<sup>230</sup> Labelling those who wet the bed as 'piskers' increased the visibility of those experiencing difficulties and further emphasized the distinction between the desired and undesired behaviour.

To reduce the occurrences of bedwetting at Spanish, clerics resorted to various strategies. In 1927 a doctor advised that the children be given "a 'seat bath' every night in cold water before going to bed", again making the children with difficulties visible and implying that the problem was one that the children should be able to control.<sup>231</sup> One entry cited by Shanahan describes a very harsh attempt to cure a boy of his problem:

soaked F---- L---- into the bath-tub and turned on the hot water. After a half-hour stay, he became sick to his stomach so had to take him out. It cured him from wetting his bed for two nights, but now he is as bad as ever.<sup>232</sup>

The punishment for not controlling bed-wetting, therefore, was often abusive, and made at least one boy physically ill. Punishments each evening or morning designed to mould student behaviour may have instead heightened the children's emotional stress and contributed to the ongoing problem of bedwetting. Students who wet the bed were also made to use poor quality rubber sheets and were eventually given straw mattresses.<sup>233</sup> Both of

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<sup>229</sup> *Healthy Ontario [Online]*, Available: <http://www.healthyontario.com/english/>.

<sup>230</sup> *Healthy Ontario [Online]*, Available: <http://www.healthyontario.com/english/>.

<sup>231</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 27, 1927, 4. (DS)

<sup>232</sup> Spanish Diary, September 1, 1924, cited in Shanahan (2004), 212.

<sup>233</sup> Inspector [Puku] to A. F. MacKenzie. October 25, 1920. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

these measures again draw attention to these children and increase their visibility to the others.<sup>234</sup>

At Spanish Residential school students were to learn particular behaviours, morals and religious convictions. Their identities and ways of thinking were to be remoulded to conform to government and church standards. The daily routine at Spanish was an extremely important aspect of the students' training as it served to maintain order, conformity and regularity throughout the students' days. Through the meticulous regulation of time and space, each part of the daily routine whether Mass, mealtime, chores or trades, classes, or leisure time, was designed to inculcate the students with particular qualities and to reshape them according to a Euro-centric ideal. Students at Spanish were to become a uniform, docile population. This process was enhanced through the relocation of the school at Wikwemikong to Spanish, which served to separate students from families and traditional ways of life while strengthening the influence of school staff. The staff at Spanish, however, was not entirely successful, perhaps because students at Spanish managed to find ways to evade disciplinary power relations and maintain or create identities that were different from those being imposed upon them.

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<sup>234</sup> Shanahan (2004), 213.



#### CHAPTER 4: RESISTANCE AT SPANISH RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL

*"We toughed it out, didn't we? They couldn't break us down, could they?"*

*~ Johnston, Indian School Days (1988), 243 ~*

Those exercising disciplinary power attempt to train and mould subjects while stifling individuality. However, individuals have opportunities to evade those exercises of power that attempt to reshape their identities. Power relations involve continual struggle, hence, exercises of power do not exist without resistance.<sup>1</sup> During the course of my research I found much more information concerning how authorities attempted to reshape students than incidents of resistance. This discrepancy is not an indication that acts of resistance were few and far between, but only that acts of resistance are difficult to detect. Many resistant acts are subtle and either not detected by dominant groups or not interpreted as resistance, unless they are transgressive (in which case the presence of boundaries is indicated).<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Scott argues that "the hidden transcript must largely be inferred" since it is artfully disguised for protection.<sup>3</sup> Many acts of resistance, if disguised, may not have been noticed or considered by staff to be important, significant or consequential, and hence, many would have been excluded from documentation.<sup>4</sup>

A necessary precondition for some acts of resistance is the hidden transcript, which is the result of power relations among peers.<sup>5</sup> The hidden transcript is only revealed in the company of others with similar experiences, and in places of relative safety away from the control and surveillance of the dominant group.<sup>6</sup> Varying degrees of the hidden transcript

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<sup>1</sup> Jon Simons, *Foucault and the Political* (London, 1995), 84.

<sup>2</sup> T. Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis, 1996), 21-27.

<sup>3</sup> James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven, 1990), 190.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond D. Fogelson, "The Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents", *Ethnohistory*, 36.2 (1989), 141-143.

<sup>5</sup> James Scott (1990), 119.

<sup>6</sup> James Scott (1990), 120.

exist, each dependent on both participants and location. These relatively secure social sites allow subordinate groups to create a collective identity.<sup>7</sup> Although there are various power relations within the subordinate group, the resulting mutuality provides support for the hidden transcript and for the maintenance and creation of discrete identities.

Despite incessant efforts, the administrators of many residential schools, including Spanish, did not attain complete control over their pupils. Acts of resistance that students resorted to while at the schools illustrate this.<sup>8</sup> These acts, which included running away, speaking traditional languages, creating nicknames for teachers, altering clothing, stealing, or talking back ranged from the subtle to the overt. Participation in these acts may have made life more bearable for the students. Whatever their nature, these acts of resistance were extremely important in shaping the days at Spanish and may have helped students to maintain or create their own identities. Johnston stated that, “were it not for the spirit of the boys, every day would have passed according to plan and schedule, and there would have been no story”.<sup>9</sup>

### Direct Resistance

Direct acts of resistance, intended to be acts of defiance, are transgressive in that both the message and the messenger are undisguised.<sup>10</sup> The origins of direct acts of resistance are the hidden transcripts that precede, nurture and provide support for the more public acts of defiance. These overt acts illustrate a refusal to comply with authority and are viewed as a

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<sup>7</sup> James Scott (1990), 118.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence* (Vancouver, 1992); Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole Life at two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo, 1997); Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School System* (Vancouver, 1988); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, “Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority Over Mind and Body”, *American Ethnologist*, 20.2, (1997); J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, 1996); J. S. Milloy, “A National Crime”: *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> Basil Johnston, *Indian School Days* (Toronto, 1988), 47.

<sup>10</sup> James Scott (1990), 203.

direct threat to the dominant group. Dominant groups realize that unless quickly squelched, they have the potential to alter power relations.<sup>11</sup> The obvious consequences for subjects who oppose authority directly make this type of resistance, while satisfying, especially dangerous.<sup>12</sup>

The prevalence of discontent among the students is indicated by the frequency that they ran away from Spanish. In April of 1924 Reverend Sauve, S.J., wrote to the department that “our pupils are really well disposed presently and we are trying our best to keep them in good spirit and attach them to the school; since last August, we are happy to say that not a single pupil ran away”.<sup>13</sup> However, this enthusiasm was not to last. In late August of 1925 an excerpt from the School Diaries of the Spanish Boys’ school indicates 25 students ran away within 4 days.<sup>14</sup> With the exception of one entry in July of 1911 indicating the “sensational desertion of three Iroquois boys”, the majority of attempted escapes occurred in August, September and October, at the beginning of each school year.<sup>15</sup> This may have been because the beginning of the school year, with thoughts of home still fresh, was most difficult.

Some boys returned to the school voluntarily while other boys were hunted, caught and returned to the institution.<sup>16</sup> For example, one runaway, who returned voluntarily, was

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<sup>11</sup> James Scott (1990), 203.

<sup>12</sup> James Scott (1990), 205.

<sup>13</sup> Reverend J.B. Sauve, S.J., to Department of Indian Affairs. April 28, 1924. Spanish. National Archives of Canada RG-10, Volume 6218, Reel C-7946, File 471-5 part 1. (Hereafter the Department of Indian Affairs will be abbreviated DIA and National Archives of Canada will be abbreviated as NAC)

<sup>14</sup> Notes taken by Fr. Bill Maurice, S. J., between April 17-24, 1994, from the diaries of the Wikwemikong and Spanish Schools, August 28 & 31, 1925, 4. Document obtained from the Jesuit Archives via David Shanahan (hereafter Notes taken by Fr. Bill Maurice, S. J., between April 17-24, 1994 from the diaries of the Wikwemikong and Spanish Schools will be referred to as Notes from School Diaries. Documents obtained from the Jesuit Archives via David Shanahan will be noted as DS).

<sup>15</sup> Various entries in Notes from School Diaries. (DS)

<sup>16</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 24, 1926, 4. (DS)

not punished for the offence “on grounds of insanity”.<sup>17</sup> One reason escapees may have returned to the school was hunger since they may have had very little food while on the run.<sup>18</sup> Shanahan indicates that escapes were sometimes planned.<sup>19</sup> Planning an escape, even if the act was not carried out, may have given the students hope that it was at least possible. The act of planning in itself may have provided the students with the satisfaction of knowing that, if they desired, they had a plan to get out. It did not seem to matter how far the students’ had to go, even those from as far away as Port Dalhousie (near St. Catharines, see figure 6.1 for location) attempted to run away.<sup>20</sup> Some boys attempted to run away from the school repeatedly, despite the threats of punishments. For example, two boys caught and punished in September of 1926 had attempted to run away twice before.<sup>21</sup> When running away, students were not merely attempting to circumvent the exercises of power at the institution, but were openly and actively striving to escape its reach. This effort was very rarely successful: in most cases students were apprehended and returned to the school where punishment awaited.

The need for frequent exhortations to behave may suggest that students were continually acting out, behaving poorly, or not following directions. This also reveals that students were perhaps not as malleable as the staff may have desired. Students often attempted to display assertiveness at the school, perhaps in an attempt to control their own activities. For example, in 1926 some boys refused to take part in a play.<sup>22</sup> And, on at least one occasion, boys were caught singing poorly at Mass. In response to this disrespectful

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<sup>17</sup> Notes from School Diaries, October 1930, 6. (DS)

<sup>18</sup> St Peter Claver School, Wikwemikong and Spanish, 1904-1919, (Diary), Jesuit Archives, Toronto, February 16, 1911, cited by David Shanahan, *‘More than mere talent’: Native Residential Schools and the Jesuits, 1844-1959*, Manuscript submitted for publication, 2004, 66.

<sup>19</sup> Shanahan (2004), 215.

<sup>20</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 16, 1924, 4. (DS)

<sup>21</sup> Notes from School Diaries, September 24, 1926, 4. (DS)

<sup>22</sup> Notes from School Diaries, May of 1926, 4. (DS)

behaviour the boys were forced to remain after Mass to sing the entire Mass again. However, the students refused. After standing for half an hour, any boy who desired to sing the Mass again was asked to go back to the Chapel. All went with the exception of fifteen boys who stood their ground and remained standing until 1:30. At this point the fifteen boys were sent to study hall until Vespers when they all sang beautifully.<sup>23</sup> Other overt acts employed by students include complaints about the food and the avoidance of specific trades, such as shoemaking.<sup>24</sup> When questioned about their reluctance to make shoes the boys stated that they did not wish to pursue shoemaking because they believed that consumption was common among those practicing the trade.<sup>25</sup>

Some boys continually demonstrated their resistance in a variety of ways, and were labelled as “constantly in trouble”.<sup>26</sup> In 1924, a boy caught stealing cigarettes was punished with 2 days of silence and a beating but, nevertheless, was caught stealing again within a week.<sup>27</sup> During the same month another boy was difficult in the refectory and punished with silence, walked out of a class without permission, and dared one of the Brothers to fight.<sup>28</sup> The older students, especially, were often viewed as “anxious to recover their freedom” if they did not “submit willingly to the rules of the institution”.<sup>29</sup> In 1918 seven or eight older boys were labelled as insubordinate and “exercising bad influence over others” and, therefore, permission was obtained from the government to discharge them in order to grant

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<sup>23</sup> Diary, September 28, 1924, cited in Shanahan (2004), 211.

<sup>24</sup> Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1894, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 21. Reproduced from the National Library of Canada’s website ([www.nlc-bnc.ca](http://www.nlc-bnc.ca)). (Hereafter the Indian Affairs Annual Report will be abbreviated as IAAR. All subsequent Annual Reports were also reproduced from the National Library of Canada’s website ([www.nlc-bnc.ca](http://www.nlc-bnc.ca))); Inspector Phelan to A. F. MacKenzie, October 25, 1920. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

<sup>25</sup> IAAR, 1894, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 21.

<sup>26</sup> Diary, September 1924, cited in Shanahan (2004), 210.

<sup>27</sup> Shanahan (2004), 208.

<sup>28</sup> Diary, September 1924, cited in Shanahan (2004), 210.

<sup>29</sup> IAAR, 1895, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 18.

**Table 7.1: Attendance at Wikwemikong and Spanish, 1879 – 1929**

<b>Year</b>		<b>Total Boys on Roll</b>	<b>Total Girls on Roll</b>	<b>Total Number of Students on Roll</b>	<b>Boarders</b>	<b>Average Daily Attendance**</b>
<b>1879</b>	Boys	53		53		35
	Girls		68	68		45
<b>1884</b>	Boys	49		49	59 (average)	36
	Girls		78	78		54
<b>1889*</b>	Boys	36		36	nearly 60	29
	Girls		55	55		39
<b>1894</b>	Boys	30		30	n/a	30
	Girls		35	35	n/a	35
<b>1899</b>	Boys	62		62	n/a	56
	Girls		54	54	n/a	50
<b>1900</b>	Boys	63		63	n/a	57
	Girls		54	54	n/a	48
<b>1904</b>	Boys	86		86	n/a	69
	Girls		65	65	n/a	54
<b>1909</b>	Boys	77		77	n/a	76
	Girls		65	65	n/a	60
<b>1914</b>	Spanish	100	100	200	n/a	133
<b>1919</b>	Spanish	112	96	208	n/a	178
<b>1924</b>	Spanish	122	112	234	n/a	212

\* Until 1889 statistics included Day Students at Wikwemikong

\*\* Separate statistics for boys and girls no longer provided

Information for this chart was compiled from the Indian Affairs Annual Reports (1879-1929)

others a place in the school.<sup>30</sup> Acts of open resistance were, then, frequently not isolated but repeated incidents, despite the threat of punishment. Boys, especially the older ones, may have engaged in resistance in an attempt to regain or maintain some control over their daily lives.

During the first few years that the school was officially a government-funded industrial school, some members of the school staff considered absenteeism to be a huge concern (see

<sup>30</sup> Reverend T. A. Desautels, S.J., to DIA Secretary. October 14, 1918. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

Table 7.1).<sup>31</sup> Reverend Du Ranquet, S.J., considered this especially problematic since “no binding engagement prevents the parents from taking their children to themselves, when they prefer to have them at home”.<sup>32</sup> In some instances, parents and community members assisted the students or acted on their behalf. On July 22, 1895 “two boys were stealthily taken away from the institution, after they had been refused a leave of absence.”<sup>33</sup> The parents returned the students to the school after they had been officially ordered to do so by the “Indian Superintendent”.<sup>34</sup> Such incidences suggest that the students at Spanish may have had the support of their parents in resisting the strict discipline and confinement of the institution.

#### Anonymous and Ambiguous Resistance

Anonymous and ambiguous acts of resistance are usually not detected, or regarded as such, by those in authority.<sup>35</sup> In these instances those resisting use subtlety and creativity to voice strategically their discontent within the public transcript by keeping the message, the messenger, or both, concealed. Acts of resistance are often veiled for the safety of those resisting, hence, circumstances are not always as they seem. In many circumstances resistance may be collective, which provides anonymity for individuals in numbers. In any case, subjects are aware of the oppressive nature of power relations and creatively take advantage of its intricacies to temporarily alter or slowly change their circumstances.

The school at Wikwemikong survived frequent fires. In 1885 the new boys’ school at Wikwemikong burned down and five days later flames also destroyed the girls’ school. At the boys’ school the fire started close to the stove in the recreation room and in the girls’

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<sup>31</sup> Synopsis of the History of Wikwemikong, Holy Cross Mission, February 20, 1884, 22. (DS) (Hereafter the synopsis of the History of Wikwemikong, Holy Cross Mission will be referred to as History of Wikwemikong); Notes from School Diaries, November 1907, 1.

<sup>32</sup> IAAR, 1881, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 6.

<sup>33</sup> IAAR, 1895, Reverend J. Paquin, S. J., Wikwemikong, 18.

<sup>34</sup> IAAR, 1895, Reverend J. Paquin, S. J., Wikwemikong, 18.

<sup>35</sup> James Scott (1990), 136-137.

school the fire began around the chimney. In both cases movable items were saved due to 'the devotedness of the people'.<sup>36</sup> Eventually, both schools burned to the ground and new buildings were erected. The fires may have been accidental and it may have been purely coincidental that they occurred within such a close time frame. However, it is entirely possible that students at the schools lit them intentionally. In January of 1888 there was a chimney fire in a residence at the school and later that year, on October 6, 1888 an entry in the School Diary indicates that two girls were caught attempting to set fire to their school.<sup>37</sup> Given that at least one fire was intentionally set, and given the frequency of the fires, it is possible that other fires were not accidental.

The schools' industrial buildings were not exempt from the rash of fires. In April of 1893 a fire on the roof of the sawmill was quickly extinguished and in 1930 the Chicken Coop at Spanish burned down. Although sources do not suggest these acts were arson, no documentary evidence to the contrary exists. It is clear that students took advantage of opportunities. The dispersal of the boys during chores and while practicing trades was a disciplinary concern for the administration as "this has a tendency towards weakening their spirit of obedience and relaxing the discipline".<sup>38</sup> Arson was a very blatant attempt made by students to rid themselves of their oppression. While arsonists may have remained undetected, the message in these instances is very clear. However, the institutions persevered and continued to rebuild the schools and to confine the students to a programme of perpetual training.

Speaking traditional languages was a less destructive, but no less flagrant violation of the rules. For example, although regulations were in place that prohibited the use of

<sup>36</sup> History of Wikwemikong, January 18 & 22, 1885, 23. (DS)

<sup>37</sup> History of Wikwemikong, January 12, 1888, 24. (DS); History of Wikwemikong, October 6, 1888, 24. (DS)

<sup>38</sup> IAAR, 1898, Reverend G.A. Artus, S.J., Wikwemikong, 265.



traditional languages, students avoided speaking English whenever the opportunity presented itself. Reverend Paquin, S.J., wrote that:

The routine work in the school room was quite satisfactory; but the proficiency of the pupils in the daily use of the English language is not proportionate to the efforts of the teachers. With a few exceptions, the full blood Indian children of this tribe are rather dull, slow in discarding their native tongue, and show but little interest in the improvement of the mind. It is hard to bring them up to a higher standard of learning.<sup>39</sup>

Despite their teachers' efforts, the students, according to this report, were not picking up the English language. Reverend Paquin, S.J., attributed this to a lack of intelligence and "little interest in improvement of the mind" as opposed to direct resistance to the inculcation of a supposed "higher standard of learning". Students continued to use their own languages whenever they were able, such as during prayer, but especially during recreation.<sup>40</sup>

Due to the continuing problem of students conversing in languages other than English, only those who spoke English were permitted to join the recreational activities. This troublesome behaviour was associated with "natural bashfulness" and to eliminate the problem "one of the masters presiding over their amusements and games" monitored the language being spoken.<sup>41</sup> Reverend Du Ranquet, S.J., wrote that, "we notice particularly among the larger boys the use of the English language in recreation hours. It has required great and constant efforts to obtain this result; it had seemed almost impossible to break their obstinacy or break their natural shyness".<sup>42</sup> The report revealed that students were purposely not speaking English and that constant attention was required to ensure that they did not relapse.

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<sup>39</sup> IAAR, 1895, Reverend J. Paquin, S.J., Wikwemikong, 18.

<sup>40</sup> Notes from School Diaries, August 23 1906, 1. (DS)

<sup>41</sup> IAAR, 1893, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 18.

<sup>42</sup> IAAR, 1889, Reverend D. Du Ranquet, S.J., Wikwemikong, 20.

Students, often labelled as shy or bashful by school staff, may have lacked confidence in their ability to speak English. However, it is also quite possible that some students preferred to use their own languages as a means of resisting the many rules and regulations or as a means of retaining their heritage. For example, students may have purposely conversed in their own languages not only to avoid surveillance from authority figures but also from peers who may not have understood their particular language or dialect. While at least some of the Jesuits were able to speak certain Aboriginal languages, communicating in traditional languages limited those who could monitor conversation content, perhaps creating free space for the students (spaces in which they could interact more freely, evading surveillance and other controls). Not conforming to school regulations to speak English and continuing to speak their own languages may have also been a means of maintaining their cultural identities.

There are several other acts that may have been meant to be anonymous, ambiguous or subtle. For example, ways that students tried to circumvent strict regulations that limited contact between the boys and girls included waving at girls through the fences while in the playground and sending notes to members of opposite sex in laundry bags.<sup>43</sup> In a more anonymous act, perhaps to avoid retaliation, an unknown person(s) even poisoned a Jesuit's dog.<sup>44</sup> Although these acts may not always appear to be resistant, they may have served to provide the students with a means of evading or disrupting power relations, or opposing the severity of the rules, through means that are available to them. Students were caught stealing

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<sup>43</sup> Shanahan (2004), 208.

<sup>44</sup> Shanahan (2004), 221.

cigarettes, cigars, and money from the staff, as well as stealing food and wine.<sup>45</sup> Stealing items that belonged to Jesuits was a form of direct resistance aimed at the Jesuits. However, the pilfering of money and food could be regarded as acts in which the students repossessed items they felt they were entitled to, particularly since the students worked very hard to produce many food items that were both consumed at the school and sold for revenue.<sup>46</sup> Other forms of similar resistance included vandalizing school property, talking in line or lining up too slowly.<sup>47</sup>

The most frequent and important acts of resistance are often those that remain disguised and undetected by authority. Basil Johnston remembered that since it was next to impossible to defy authority openly students resorted to their own means of passive resistance – dawdling. When lining up, boys often did so “as slowly as they dared without having their names inscribed in the prefects’ little black books. It would have been easier to line up immediately without waiting for the bell, but that would have been seen as surrender”.<sup>48</sup> Students who attended Spanish long before Johnston may have used similar everyday acts of resistance to display their unwillingness to surrender along with their desire to push the limits as far as they could without getting caught.<sup>49</sup> Inspector J. M. Bennett, for instance, states in a 1924 report that, “a bell in the playground should be provided. An ordinary handbell is not loud enough to call pupils from their various outdoor tasks”.<sup>50</sup> This statement may indicate that the bell just was not loud enough for students to hear, or if

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<sup>45</sup> Notes from School Diaries, May 1929, 5. (DS); Notes from School Diaries, September 12, 1924, 4. (DS); Notes from School Diaries, July 1925, 4. (DS); Notes from School Diaries, July 1925, 4. (DS); Shanahan (2004), 215.

<sup>46</sup> For more information on pilfering see James Scott (1990), 188.

<sup>47</sup> Shanahan (2004), 208 & 215.

<sup>48</sup> Johnston (1988), 30-31.

<sup>49</sup> James Scott (1990), 198; Johnston (1988), 31.

<sup>50</sup> Inspector Bennett’s report on Spanish, September 4, 1924. NAC RG-10 Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1.

viewed in a different way, the statement could indicate that students chose not to hear the bell or chose not to respond promptly to its clanging. The students' delayed response to the bell may have served many purposes, if, of course, this was an intentional act. For example, recreation time may have been prolonged, lessening the amount of time they were required to spend at the next task. Or, this may have served to alter their rigid schedule slightly, temporarily giving students control. Yet another possibility is that there may have been satisfaction in requiring the staff to exert extra effort to call them from their various activities. In any case, the school was furnished with a much larger bell – a tower bell of a twenty-two inch diameter - in an attempt to ensure that all were able to 'hear' the signals.<sup>51</sup> There is no indication if the new bell was more effective in calling the students to their next tasks.

Reverend Papineau, S.J., documented an example of a situation that may be considered resistance in 1917. He stated that "quite a number of our students have weak eyes: cannot see what is written at the blackboard or are suffering some other defects".<sup>52</sup> Although this statement could mean exactly what it says, especially given that very little money was available for eyeglasses or eye examinations, it is also possible that "quite a number of students" pretended not to be able to see what was written on the blackboard as an act of resistance to their schooling. If students could not see the board, class could be disrupted. And, even if the lesson was only delayed for a few moments the students may

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<sup>51</sup> J.D. McLean to Reverend Chas. Belanger, S.J., September 24, 1924. Ottawa. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1.

<sup>52</sup> Reverend E. Papineau, S.J., to DIA Secretary. November 8, 1917. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6217, File 471-1 part 1.

have considered themselves momentarily victorious. Furthermore, this triumph may have served as encouragement for others to test classroom limits.<sup>53</sup>

During recreational time boys may have found additional ways to resist the asymmetrical power relations that governed their lives. In March of 1928 the diaries noted that, "boys slide on the rocks. They like it but it is hard on clothes". While this may have been a very exhilarating and amusing activity, sliding on rocks may also have been an activity, which, as is noted, had the potential to destroy their clothing. This act may have also been a means of displaying dissatisfaction with what they were provided or a means of pushing the boundaries to see what activities were acceptable during recreation. On another occasion, also during the recreation period, the Jesuits reported that the boys were permitted to use slingshots. However, after 85 panes of glass had to be replaced the toys were revoked. The sources from which this information was obtained did not indicate the intentions of the boys. The panes of glass could have substituted for targets (of course, we cannot know for sure). However, could the panes have all been accidentally shattered by stray stones or is there room for reasonable doubt? Each of these reported instances is transgressive (meaning that they were noticed and condemned for some reason by staff), however, there is also the possibility that they were disguised acts of resistance (acts purposely carried out by students but with covert meanings, actions or participants).

A final example of a situation that may be associated with resistance, if viewed creatively, involves the use utensils during meals. A request was made by Spanish for the department to replace wooden cutlery and cups.<sup>54</sup> The reasons for needing new cups and utensils could be numerous. For example, wooden tableware could wear out, break or go

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<sup>53</sup> Concept from James Scott (1990), 196.

<sup>54</sup> Reverend Chas. Belanger, S.J. to DIA Secretary, August 29, 1924. Spanish. NAC RG-10, Reel C-7946, Volume 6218, File 471-5 part 1; Shanahan (2004), 134.

missing. Although I found nothing to indicate that students were destroying or stealing the cutlery or cups, there is no evidence to suggest they did not. And, since most resistance is meant to avoid surveillance and remain undetected, we cannot underestimate the potential actions of the students at Spanish.<sup>55</sup>

Students at Spanish may have conformed to many of the staffs' expectations, though the reasons for doing so may have varied from student to student and from day to day. Some may have internalized the lessons taught to them, however, some may have done so to avoid punishment.<sup>56</sup> It is also possible that other students conformed to expectations to be in better positions from which to resist or to evade, even slightly, the omnipresent surveillance. For example, when Basil Johnston was working in the chicken coop students were able to sneak two eggs each daily.<sup>57</sup> Johnston also noted that in a certain classes students could read, sleep, draw or study, whatever they desired, providing nobody disturbed the teacher.<sup>58</sup> Student accommodation may have also led to personal gain after graduation due to skills acquired at school. Many former residential school students, such as Harold Cardinal or Basil Johnston, were able to become Aboriginal Rights activists, community leaders and political leaders.<sup>59</sup>

Examples of daily resistance within the documents used for this thesis are minimal. However, personal accounts, such as Johnston's, confirm that students were continually seeking to subtly display their discontent or resist the 'norms' imposed by authority. For example, "while Mass was a solemn occasion in the exercise of piety, it was also a time for

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<sup>55</sup> James Scott (1990), 200.

<sup>56</sup> James Scott (1990), 193.

<sup>57</sup> Johnston (1988), 216.

<sup>58</sup> Johnston (1988), 39.

<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of influential residential school graduates see Jacqueline Grescoe, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910", in A. Rasporich, ed., *Western Canada Past and Present* (Calgary, 1975), 177-180; Johnston (1988), 250; Miller (1996), 430.

indulging in impious thoughts”.<sup>60</sup> Even though the students were made to attend Mass regularly, students could not be made to concentrate on the sermon. At bedtime, when absolute silence was expected, students would call the prefects names or taunt them, and although a punishment for all may have ensued, the boys fell asleep “feeling triumphant”.<sup>61</sup> Calling Jesuits names under the guise of anonymity within a larger group enables students to voice their feelings more directly.<sup>62</sup> This and other acts of resistance would not be possible without sites of relative safety within which the hidden transcript is nurtured.<sup>63</sup>

Perhaps best illustrating that the students may not have conformed to the values and beliefs being imposed upon them at the residential school are Basil Johnston’s experiences at graduation. When he graduated from Spanish as valedictorian, indicating a successful career at Spanish, he secretly thanked Kitchimanitou for helping him to recite his speech, demonstrating his continued faith in his own culture and heritage.<sup>64</sup> In many situations the students may have been pushing the limits to see what they could get away with while protesting the constant clanging of bells, their rigid timetables, and continual surveillance. Since many of these acts of resistance were accomplished as a group, without any apparent leadership, participants were at minimal risk of being accused of purposely dawdling or not attending to their studies.

Although acts of resistance may not always be immediately visible in archival records, it is possible to access this information and shed light on how students were able to negotiate their positions within the school and perhaps even alter their situations, if only minutely or temporarily, by viewing the available material with an alternative perspective.

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<sup>60</sup> Johnston (1988), 58.

<sup>61</sup> Johnston (1988), 46 & 114.

<sup>62</sup> For more information on the advantages of anonymity when resisting see James Scott (1990), 148.

<sup>63</sup> James Scott (1990), 151.

<sup>64</sup> Johnston (1988), 241-242.

Through the use of creativity and imagination, and by questioning the documentary evidence, acts of resistance emerge from the past. Resistance enabled an often muted self-assertion in the ongoing struggle for self-definition. The identities formed by the students were created in response to the clearly defined identities endorsed at the school and were continually reconstructed through various acts of resistance. These acts of resistance demonstrate that the students at Spanish Residential School, although confined to a very oppressive institution, used opportunities presented to them to alter their circumstances, to confuse or to evade systems of power permeating the institution, and to maintain, or to create identities, which did not conform to the homogenizing forces of disciplinary power.



## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate the means through which power was exercised at Spanish Residential School and how students acted to resist the perpetual control. Documents were obtained from the National Archives of Canada, the Indian Affairs *Annual Reports* and the Jesuit Archives (courtesy of Dr. David Shanahan). The resulting information not only provided a greater understanding of how Spanish Residential School operated on a daily basis, but also helped to illustrate how student identities were continually negotiated. As the school administration attempted to reshape the Aboriginal students according to a Euro-Canadian ideal the students used various acts of resistance to demonstrate their nonconformity.

The Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary employed continual surveillance throughout the students' day giving them little privacy. During recreation hours students were supervised to make certain they did not speak traditional languages, they were observed during religious services, mealtimes and every moment in between to ensure proper behaviour. The priests, brothers, prefects and Daughters of the Heart of Mary watched the students and, at times, even their own peers acted as the eyes of the institution. The gaze of the institution was unceasing and, at times, inescapable. The Jesuits and the Daughters of the Heart of Mary were themselves, also, under perpetual surveillance by the government, the church, and often the students and their parents.

Along with continual surveillance, normalizing judgements were used to define and enforce the correct behaviour to create 'normal' students. This was accomplished through systems of rewards and punishments. For example, students were compensated for desirable behaviours by being granted one day of free time each month. However, that day was

revoked if the students did not conform to acceptable behaviours. Humiliations, such as public lectures and apologies, were often used as punishments and weekly reports were posted for each student to encourage proper conduct.

Students were classified within the school. Boys and girls were separated into two different institutions, younger students were divided from the older students in the playgrounds and dormitories, and chores were to be completed based on ability, age and gender. Classes split the student body according to perceived intellect and work was assigned 'appropriately' with women attending to domestic work and men to the more physical tasks. Older boys were classified based on their aptitude for trades, and even during recreational activities, such as the Boy Scout troop, students were differentiated from one another. In the Boy Scout troop student achievement was made visible through badges, the uniform pieces earned and positions within the troop. Those who did not conform to the ideal were differentiated from 'normal' students through labels, such as 'pisker' or through other visible markers, such as rubber sheets.

Examination, a means of both classification and surveillance, documents progress and provides information through which students are differentiated and judged. Often the official examinations at Spanish were public, at which students would respond to oral questions based on mathematics, spelling, catechisms and other subject areas. At other times the students were on display during concerts, plays and sporting events at which they demonstrated their acquired skills. The Jesuits and Daughters of the Heart of Mary were also subject to examinations. While most inspections were scheduled, representatives of the Department of Indian Affairs often carried out surprise inspections of the school. Higher

authorities within the Church also often visited, at which times special events were planned for the students.

Coercion and corporal punishment were additional means employed at the school to direct student behaviour. There seemed to be a continual need to enforce obedience and adherence to rules and regulations. Humiliation or beatings may have been meant to punish students for engaging in immoral or inappropriate behaviours, although records suggest that the strap was only used as a last resort. Punishments may have been used as method of discouraging other potential offenders or as a means of righting a wrong in response to moral outrage.

Power was also exercised through meticulous management of time. Students were expected to conform to a schedule, which was syncopated by bells and daily repetition. The control over time was continual and not a moment of the day was left unaccounted for at Spanish. The routine was repeated day after day – rise, mass, breakfast, chores/work, class/work, dinner, recreation, class/work, snack, chores/work, study, supper, recreation, study, and bedtime. The schedule at Spanish altered slightly over the years, but strict routine and regulation were always enforced.

Spaces were controlled, divided and assigned particular uses. Students were, for example, confined to the institution to limit their contact with outside interferences to create the necessary conditions at the school to inculcate the students with the ‘desired’ qualities. At the institution space was partitioned in the school and throughout the grounds. Fences outlined the yard and various areas and buildings were dedicated to particular industries, such as blacksmithing or farming. Inside the residential school particular areas were assigned to specific tasks such as the chapel, the schoolrooms and the dormitory. Within the rooms, such

as the classrooms, space was partitioned, and each student was assigned a space, such as a desk, which was placed within an arrangement that enabled optimal surveillance. The refectory and dormitories are other areas in which students had to remain in their own space unless instructed to do otherwise. If the same space was to be used for various activities, such as the recreation hall and refectory, it was referred to by different names to denote the difference in expectations, rules and behaviours. Within the designated spaces only specific activities were acceptable. For example, while running around and amusements were permitted in the recreation hall, no such activities would be tolerated during a meal.

Even as the Jesuits used disciplinary power to attempt to homogenize and repress student identities, students were able to create spaces that nurtured mutuality and, in turn, acts of resistance, that contributed to identity negotiation. Throughout the years between 1878 and 1930 students habitually challenged the efforts made by the Jesuits, the Daughters of the Heart of Mary and the Canadian government. Students engaged in activities that were both unmistakably resistant and acts that were purposely concealed from observing staff and peers. The acts in which students engaged could have been spontaneous, such as storming out of class; organized, such as premeditated escapes; obscured, such as not being able to see the board; or direct, such as talking back. Some acts of resistance may have been a collective effort to provide anonymity in numbers, such as not responding immediately to bells while dispersed throughout the school grounds or refusing to sing during mass. Other acts could have been individual efforts such as stealing, which could be interpreted as a means of repossessing items that students thought were rightfully theirs. In other circumstances students may have acted just to see what they could get away with, such as speaking their own languages, which obtained inconsistent results throughout the years. Many students

would have tested the limits just long enough for the act to remain unpunished or have acted ambiguously enough to avoid punishment, meaning many acts of resistance, due to their cryptic nature remained undetected by the Jesuits.

In most cases, students resisted at times and places that were most convenient for them, under the protection of anonymity, and in ways that made use of their knowledge, cunning and creativity. These acts of resistance may have served to alter, circumvent, or evade power relations. However, at times, they also placed the students in a more oppressive situation than the one in which they began. For example, running away had the potential to result in the offender receiving the strap and a diet of bread and water. Nevertheless, these acts provided students with some control over their lives, even if minimal and not always evident, and helped students to maintain or to create identities that were not the same as those school administrations expected. Acts of resistance demonstrate that the young Aboriginal peoples were not passively moulded, but that they actively attempted, however minimally, to exercise power. Even if the acts accomplished nothing but a feeling of satisfaction, they may have made life more bearable for the resisting students and provided encouragement for others. The purpose of the struggles may not have been to change power relations permanently, they may have created opportunities for self-creation and the assertion of individuality.

Conditions at Spanish resembled those in other residential schools across Canada. Exercises of disciplinary power that permeated Spanish have also been found at other residential schools. For example, Graham notes the attempt made at the Mohawk Institute and Mount Elgin schools to remove Aboriginal identities and inculcate a new 'school

identity' and discusses the panoptic nature of the institutions.<sup>1</sup> Various authors have noted student acts of resistance similar to those practiced at Spanish such as running away, stealing and finding complex ways to communicate with other students.<sup>2</sup> Students at Kamloops Residential School, for example, like students at Spanish, were able to create sites that fostered mutuality and enabled students to struggle to create their own identities. However, disciplinary power and acts of resistance manifested differently at each residential school and will have obtained varying results. Perhaps future research will continue to explore how disciplinary power and acts of resistance permeated various residential schools and how these struggles helped to maintain or to create identities that were different from those being inculcated by school administration.

Aboriginal acts of resistance are not limited to residential school situations but have been interwoven throughout Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian relations since this relationship began. Residential school may have even contributed to an agonal culture among Aboriginal peoples, who have voiced their discontentment in many ways. While many of those acts of resistance, such as blockades, are obvious and may directly alter circumstances many do not. Other acts of resistance may have been employed not to drastically modify circumstances but to ensure cultural survival and assert dignity through acts such as leaving the reserve to circumvent continual surveillance by government officials.<sup>3</sup> These muted acts of resistance

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole Life at two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo, 1997), 40.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence* (Vancouver, 1992); Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School System* (Vancouver, 1988), Graham (1997); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority Over Mind and Body", *American Ethnologist*, 20.2, (1997); Isabelle Knockwood, *Out of the Depths: The Experience of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Lockeport, 1992); Linda Jaine, ed. *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years* (Saskatchewan, 1995); J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, 1996); J. S. Milloy, "A National Crime": *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Michael Ripmeester, "Intentional Resistance or Just 'Bad Behaviour': Reading for Everyday Resistances at the Alderville First Nation, 1837-76", in Bruce W. Hodgins, Ute Lischke and David T. McNab, eds., *Blockades*

require unveiling as these acts are not only a precondition for the more direct acts of resistance, but they serve to maintain dignity and cultural identities that diverge from the assimilative goals of colonial policies and enable subordinate groups to continue their struggle against exercises of power.

This interdisciplinary thesis has explored the years between 1879 and 1930 at Spanish Residential School. It has shed some light on relationships that contributed to negotiating student identities within the institution, particularly, the exercises of power and resistance. The perpetual observation, control, rules and regulations that characterized Spanish have long since ceased along with the activities that occurred in the refectories, dormitories, hallways and school grounds. However, there is still much to uncover and to understand. The evidence of acts of resistance throughout this thesis, along with the abundance of court cases and conflict that have emerged, allows me to suggest that students were, at least, somewhat successful in maintaining or creating identities that were different from that being imposed on them at Spanish Residential School and, hence, were somewhat successful in resisting the assimilative machinery of the Jesuits, the Daughters of the Heart of Mary and the Canadian Government.

It is necessary to keep delving into the pasts of residential schools such as Spanish to broaden our understandings of history. A great number of former students continue to cope with the lasting effects of their experiences. As recently as May 10, 2004 the Jesuits, Daughters of Mary and Indian Residential Schools Resolutions Canada created a settlement agreement to address claims from those who attended Spanish Residential School or

Wikwemikong Industrial School.<sup>4</sup> The past, including that of residential schooling, must not be forgotten as it directly influences how present situations are viewed and addressed. A broader understanding of what contributed to forming past situations is instrumental in improving current and future situations, and is conducive to changing patterns of inequality.<sup>5</sup>

This thesis is in no way a substitute for personal experiences at Spanish Residential School, or any other institution of its kind that existed across Canada. Furthermore, although this thesis incorporated as much information as possible it not complete and may not even be representative of most experiences. However, based on the information that is available, and the abundance of current residential school claims, it is very plausible that the identities formed at Spanish were not those envisioned by Church or government administrations. Future projects may include a more in depth look at particular time frames, particularly those corresponding to each principals' tenure since the Jesuit principals strongly influenced and altered life at Spanish according to their individual ideals and expectations. The schools continued for approximately three decades after 1930, a period that needs to be explored. Finally, of the utmost importance to future research endeavours involving Spanish Residential School are the muted voices of those who attended Spanish and other such schools across Canada, many of which have yet to be heard.

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<sup>4</sup> *Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada [Online]*, Available: <http://www.irsrrqpi.gc.ca/english/index.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver, 2000); Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 2002), 323.



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